

¶ The first Booke

OF THE HISTO-
rie of the Discouerie and Con-

quest of the East Indias, enterprised by
the Portugales, in their daungerous
Nauigations, in the time of King
Don Iohn, the second of that
name.

*VVich Historie conteineth
much varietie of matter, very profitable
for all Nauigators, and not vnplea-
saunt to the Readers.*

Set foorth in the Por- tingale language, by Herman Lopes do Castaneda,

AND NOW TRANS-
lated into English, by
N. L. Gentleman.

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Thomas East.
1582.



TO
THE MOST HIGH
and mightie Prince our King
and souereigne, Don John, the
third of that name, king
of Portingale, and of
the Algarues,
etc.

It hath seemed to me so straunge and
waightie a thing (most high & migh-
tie Prince our king and Souereigne)
to undertake to write of the most
worthy and valyaunt acts which the
Portingales haue enterprised in the
discovery and conquest of the Indias,
that oftentimes I thought to giue
over and relinquish the same, but as the attempt and doing
thereof was principally taken in hande for the glorie of
Almighty God, and to convertt those barbarous Nations
to the Christian Faith, and the great honour of your high-
nesse, wherein God gaue them (by his Omnipotent pow-
er, fauour and mercye) such fortunate successe in the at-
taining of those famous actes, without whose great pro-
vidence it coulde never haue bene performed or brought
to passe. And therfore doe hope and altogether comfort
my selfe with the ayde and assistance of his diuine god-
nesse in publishing the same by writing, yeilding the
glorie thereof onely to his celestiall Godhead, and

The Prologue to the

praise terestriall unto your excellent highnesse, and to that famous and most happy king, Don Manuel your Father. And although the same be well knowne and spred abroad ouer all the woorde, yet it cannot be so perfectely published vntesse it be set forth in writting. For by this meanes the memorie thereof will inure for euer, because that the writings will alwayes shew the same to bee present. Like as it doth continue those actes of the Greeks, and of the Romanes, the which long since is past so many yeares. And therefore they lyke wise men, perceiving the same to be true, did traualle all that was possible to leau the memorie thereof by wriiting, and noting that the wothinesse of the same did consist much in the eloquence of the writer, did therefore chose such excellent learned men as those were that wrote the same, beeing thereto aided with much fauour and helpe, of others that were nothing inferiour unto theyz own, & possible were far greater, but for that the same did not remaine in wriiting, there is no memorie thereof, cuen as those of the Assyrians, of the Medes, of the Persians, of the Africcons against the Romanes, of the Sweuianes against Julius Cæsar, of the spaniards against the Moors in the recouerye of their Countrey of Spayne. Principallye of those iuincible and holye Kinges of Portingale your auncestours, the King Don Alonso Henrques, the King Don Sancho his sonne, the King Don Alonso, the which did gette the Kingdome of Portingale, and of the Algarues, in the which conquest there was wonderfull greate actes done, and that by force of Armes. Of all the which almost there hath remayned no memorie of that there shoulde haue beeene, yea, those matters of the Indias, the which was done but yesterdaye, there is no man that hath the same in memorie moare then foure personnes, so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which woulde haue beeene imputed to theyz greate shame and rebuke.

And I hauing a regarde, and partlye a remoule to see this losse, did therefore determine my selfe to note of those notable actes, the which your subiects hath done in the discouerie and Conquest of the Indias, of whose valiauntnesse there is none of theyz progenitours of any age or antiquite that ever did excede them, no, nor yet were equall with them. For leauing a side the Conquest of the Semirian of Cyro, Piribus, and of other barbarous, all (the which was nothing in comparison of this) and take amonst them also that great Alexander the which was so feared and wondred at throughout all the wold, since that the Indias is frequented by the Portingales: theyz doings are no more meruailed at, then a dead Lyon in respect of ons aliue, for the Conquest of Alexander was all by lande, and against people that were smallie accustomed of trapned in the feates of warres, hee alwayes going in his roiall person, but this of the Indias was done by sea, and that by your Captaines, beeing vpon the same a whole yeaire, and eight monethes, and at the least sixe monethes, not along or neere any coast, but by the bottomele and great Ocean Sea, and departing from the lymites of the Deccident, and bearing sayle alwayes towarde the Cape De las Playas, or such lyke, without discouering or seeing any other thing, but onely the heauens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter never before attempted by anye mortall man, nor yet almost imagined by anye, to put the same in practise, and they hauing past greate hunger, thirst and other infirmityes, besides that euerye day with those furious stormes and raines, in daunger a thousand times of their liues. And as I say, they hauing past those feares and daungerous troubles by sea, yet after theyz arriall into the Indias, found theselues in great and cruell battells, (not with men that did fight onely with their Bowes, Arrowes, and Spores,) as they didde in Alexander's tyme, but with such as were stout & of a haughty stomacke, and with men that were experienced in the wars,

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of the which kind of people there is not onely in the Indias, but as farre as we can vnderstand, there is of the like in Asia, and besides theyr accustomed weapons (the which are many and god) yet they haue Ordinance, Calcuerers, and many fire-workes more plentie then the Portingales had, so that the power of these men was alwaies so greate, that the force of king Poro with whome Alexander did fight, was not comparable, yet notwithstanding the Portingales did give them continually the ouerthow, although theyr strength was but small, yet they never left the warres, as Alexander did. And leauing off to declare of the Greces and of theyr actes, and now to come to the Romanes, who with theyr huge armye, and with theyr greate flete, the which seemed to couer the whole Sea, thought to conquest the iwhole Worlde, yet they never durst aduenture by Sea further then the rede Sea, neyther yet the greatest of their fandus victories, did or was ever lyke vnto the least of those battayles that was done by our men in the Indias, in the which it is so well knowne, most invincible Prince, the greates prosperite of the King your Father and you, so that without naming of your selfe out of your pallaice, was discovered and conquered by your Captaines, the which never Princes could by themselves conquer or discouer, so that there was never Conquest of the Barbarons, nor of the Grecians, nor of the Latynists, the which was of lyke difficultie as this hath beene, neyther yet Kinges nor Captaines, of none of all these Nations, was so equall in force nor yet in valyauntnesse as those of your Father, and of yours, the which is manifelst declared by the discourse of the hystoie following.

And touching theyr greate actes which they dydde worthelye fulfill and bring to passe, we must verelye believe that it was Gods god will and pleasure, that those Barbarous, being discouered with theyr vaine Idolls, and with the false sect of Mahomet, shoulde ioyne them-

King of Portingale.

themselves with the Catholike faith, and to be as it wer in one Cozall, and vnder one Pastour or Shepheard, as at this present the great multitude that hereby are increased to the Christian Religion, is a manifelst testimoanie and witnesse thercof. After which great employes, your Hignes gaue commandement that the Christian doctrine of the Brotherhod of the company of Iesu shoulde be there instructed & taught them, of the which your Hignesse hath had so speciall a care like a most godlye and Christian Prince, that not onely you were the first that commaunded the same to be brought from Roine, for that they might bee the better instructed in all their Kingdomes, but also deeth maintaine vpon your owne charges in this holy comparye the multitudes that doeth daylye submit themselves to the same. As we doe see in the sumptuous Colledge of Coimbro, where to ennable and augment the hono: of your kingdomes, you haue erected and founded an Unniersitie: where, with the charges that is daylye done there, and with your countenaunce together, it is hoped, that the same may be accounted amongst the florishing Unniersities of all Europe: whereas there is maintained also vpon your charges manye Colledges of the order of pore beggynge Friers, and others of like profession, for like as the reformation that was there made was profitable to them all: so he commaunded, that there should be many Djinnes for to declare the Euangelicall law, which your Hignes is not onely at this charges with religious men, but also with tempozall men, for as there is many of your subiects that doth defend þ State Republike or Common Welth, and doth enlarge the same with their armour, so ther are others that doth beautifie the same with learning. These heroycall vertues of your Hignesse being so well knownen vnto me, forsomuch as this Booke, besides others that I haue made, hath some taske or kindred of learning, doth incourage me the more to set them forth, for that as I say, there may remaine a perpetuall memorie of so notable actes as so many Gentlemen and Knights of

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the Portingales your subiects bath done, the which hath ben
nestled me very much, my being in the Indias, where I tra-
uayled with my Father, who by your Highnes commaun-
dement was sent thether to serue as a Judge. And soz that
I spent all my youth in learning, and gaue my selfe greatly
in reading of auncient Histories, and hauing seene and read
a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to know
and with all diligence did my best indeauour to vnderstand
what had bene done in the Discouerie of the Indias, and in
the Conquest of the same, by the Portingales, with the in-
tent as aforesayde, which was to make the same knownen,
and conuincion to all men : by meanes whereof, and through
the instructions of sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, ma-
ny things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were
then and there present, as well in the counsayle for the pro-
uision for that which should be done, as also in the executi-
on thereof, and otherwise by many letters and pamphlets,
the which were written by men of great credite, and lyke-
wise examined as sufficient witnesses for better credite of
the worke. Moreouer, I did not onely vse this dilygence in
the Indias, but after my comming to Portingale didde the
lyke. For as those matters the which I meant to write
of, were many and of sundrye orders, so it was necessary
to enforme my selfe of the same by manye : and beside that
those that gaue me this instructions wer sworn, yet I was
licensed to present them as witnessses. There were of them
that I sought in the most part of Portingale : for what with
the great trauell of my person, and expences of my godes,
for that they were seperated in sundry parts, and in this I
haue spent the most part of my lyfe, forsomuch as this was
my onely recreation, hauing iorned together all these infor-
mations, since my being in the Universitie of Coimbro, in
your Highnes seruice, at such time as I found my selfe not
occupied with the executing of my office, with great trouble
(not onely of the body, but also of the spide) made an end
of this Wooke with others, the which I doe humbly offer
vnto

Unto your Highnes, whome God (after mynes and most
fortunate yeares, remayning in your place
the Prince) take and receive you
from the senarie of the
earth, unto the ioyes
of heauen.

Your Highnes most humble Orator,
Hernan Lopes de Castaneda,



SAUND
SIR FRAUNCES DRAKE
KNT. N. L. G.
WISHES ALL PROSPERITIE.

SAUND
SIR FRAUNCES DRAKE
KNT. N. L. G.
WISHES ALL PROSPERITIE.



To the right Worshipfull

Sir Fraunces Drake, Knight, N.L.G. wisheth all prosperitie.



Hey haue an auncient custome in Persia (the which is also obserued throughout all Asia) that none will enterprise to visit the king, noble man, or perticularly any other person of countenance, but he carieth with him some thing to present him with all worthy of thanks, the which is not onely done in token of great humilitie & obedience, but also of a zealous loue & friendly affection to their superiours & wel willers. So I (Right worshipfull following this Persian president) hauing taken vpon me this simple translation out of the Portingale tongue, into our English language, am bold to present & dedicate the same vnto you as a signification of my entire good will. The history conteineth the discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, made by sundry worthy Captaines of the Portingales, in the time of king Don Manuel, & of the king Don Iohn the second of that name, with the discription, not onely of the country, but also of euery harbor apperteining to euery place whervnto they came, & of the great resistance they found in the same, by reson wherof there was sundry great battels many times fought, & likewise of the commodities & riches that every of these places doth yeeld. And for that I know your worship, with great perill & daunger haue past those monstrous & bottomelesse seas, am therfore the more encouraged to desire & pray your worships patronage & defence therof, requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very ma-

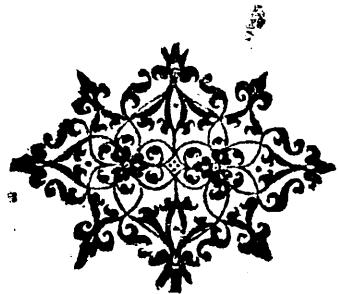
The Epistle Dedicatore.

ny, & so much the more by reason of my long & many
yeares continuuance in foreine countries. Howbeit I hope
to haue truly obserued the literall sence & full effect of
the history, as the Author setteth it forth, which if it may
please you to peruse & accept in good part, I shalbe great-
ly emboldened to proceede & publish also the second &
third booke, which I am assured will neither be vnplea-
sant nor vnyprofitable to the readers. Thus alwaies wish-
ing your good worship such prosperous continuuance and
like fortunate successe as God hath hethereto sent you in
your dungeorne trauaile & affayres, and as maye
euery waye content your owne heartes de-
sire, doe euен so take my leaue. From
London the fist of March.

1582.

Your worships alwayes to command,

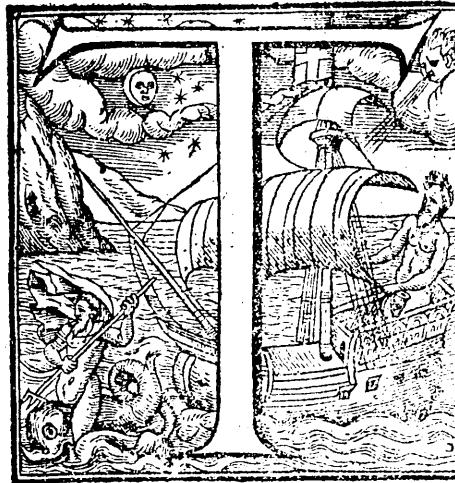
Nicholas Lichefield,



THE
KING
DON
JOAN
THE
SECOND

How the King Don Joan the second

of that name, did send to seeke out by sea and by
land the East India, and of the newes that was
brought him of the same. Cap. 1.



THE
KING
DON
JOAN
THE
SECOND

Y H E King Don
Joan the second of
that name, 2 of the
Kings of Portin-
gale, the thirteenth,
perceining that all
the Spices, Drugs,
Stones, and other
riches, which came
to Venice, were
brought out of a
certaine Province
of the East parte:
And as he was a
Personage of an
haukie stomache and valiant minde, so was he desirous to
inlarge his Kingdome, and increase the Christian faith, and
therefore he determined to discouer by Sea, the Country,
from whence so great plentie of riches came, that thereby
his Subjects might be enriched, and his Kingdome of Portin-
gale enoy all such commodities as came from thence to
Venice. Moreover, to discouer the same Countrey, he was
the rather animated and inclined, for that he was gien to
understand, that in the East India, were Christians, which
were governed by a King of great power called Presbiter
B, Joan,

The Conquest

The order
of Christ
in Portin.
gale giue
vnto No-
ble men
& Gentle-
men & to
some that
are made
knights.

Ioan, with whom Don Ioan thought god to haue acquaintance, and to know him by his Ambassadors, and the rather for that he was reported to be a Christian Prince: And therefore consulting with the Cosmographers of that time, he gaue them in charge to procede and goe forwarde by example of others, which had sayled along the Coast of Guynee, whiche Coast was before that time discouered by commaundement of the Prince his Uncle, Master of the Order of Christ, who had sent for that purpose, one Bartholome Dyas, one of the Officers of his Storeshouse in Lyshorne, who did discouer that great & monstrous Cape, not knownen of our Auncestours, which is now called the Cape of Buena esperansa: And finding there matter of great terrorre and daungers, he passed beyond the same, one hundred and fortie leagues, where, comming to a River, which he named Rio del infante, from thence he retourned to Portingale. In this voyage, he gaue to the Ports, Ver-
hours, and Rivers, where he tooke in fresh Water, thei
names, which at this present they doe retaine. Likewise, he erected there certaine markes with Crosses, and with the roiall Armes of Portingale, and the last that he erected, was in a Rocke, the which they named, El pennol de la crus, which standeth fifteene leagues on this side the soresayde River. And from thence he retourned without hearing any newes, or yet hauing any further intelligence of that India, by reason all the Inhabitants along those Coasts bee al-
most a savage and a wilde kinde of people, and of colour blacke.

This voyage and intelligence, being intitlated and revealed to the King Don Ioan, he forthwith minded to discouer that India by land, albeit before that time he had dis-
patched and sent for the same discouerie intended, a Fryer of the order of Saint Fraunces, called Fryer Antonio de Lixbona, by land, in the company of a temporall man, which two persons, for want of the Arabian tongue, could not well traueile those parts, so that they went no farther then to Ierusalem, from whence without profiting in the cause of that

of the East Indi.

that iourney, they returned into Portingale.

The King neverthelesse continuing to prosecute to effect his determination for discouerie of that India by lande, did therevpon chuse two of his owne seruauntes, men of god knowledge, and diligent in whatsoeuer they were to be employed, the one called Pedro de Couillian, borne in the saide Village, and the other called Alonso de Rayua, borne in the Towne of Castil Blanco, which did verye well understande the language of Arabia, to whome he tolde holde that he had made choyce of them, as of persons apt to execute his pretence, which was to discouer by lande as well the Countrey of Presbiter Ioan, as also that, from whence the Drugges and Spices come to Venice: Givine them in charge, and that earnestlye to make diligent enquiryre, and gather certaine knowledge whether that from the Cape of Buena Esperansa forwarde there were anye nauigation to the East India, and that they shoulde set downe all thinges they founde necessarye to bee knownen, or that they could by anye possible meane learne or gather of the same for certaintye: Commaunding also a Sea Carde to bee giuen them, which was taken out of a Mappe of the whole worlde, by a Maister of Arte, called Calsadilla, Bishoppye of Vyseu, who was a god Astro-
nomer.

Moreover, he gaue them a Letter of credite, where-
by they might bee succoured and protected from, and in-
daungers of death, and in cases of necessitie and want
of money, in whatsoeuer Kingdomes and Countreyes
theye happe shoulde be to traunyle. And for theye char-
ges, he commaunded to giue them fourte hundred
Crownes out of the Chest of the Orcherd of Almeryn:
Of which summe, theye tooke as much as theye deined woulde suffice for theye expence, vntill theye came to Valencia in Aragon, putting the residue in the Bancke of Bartelme Florentine to be deliuered them there: and so he gaue them the blessing of God and his, in the presence of the King

Another
iourney by
lande at-
tempted.

The Conquest

Don Manuel, who at that time was Duke of Vesa.

After this they departed from the Village of Santaxen the seauenth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand four hundred four score and seauen, and came to Naples vpon Saint Iohns daye the same yeare, from whence they were set forward on their way, by Cosmo de Medicis sounes, and so went they from thence to the Rhooches, of which Religion, wer then none other but Portingales. And from the Rhooches they went to Alexandria, from thence to the Cayro, as Merchants, and from thence in the compaie of certayne Moores of Feez, and Fremencen, they came to Toro, which is a place that hath his harbour in the Straights of the red Sea in the Coast of Arabia, at the fote of the Mountaine Sinay, where they vnderstood manie matters of the Indies, and of the trade those places had out of the Straights to Calicut; and therevpon they traauled to another place in the selue same Straights of the Redde Sea, ouer the Coaste of Aethiopia, from whence they went to Edin: And for that it was out of the waye to the Indies, they parted compaie and senered themselves: Alonso de Payua remained to go ouer by land to the Emperour of Aethiopia, which is he, whom we before haue named vpon errore Presbiter Ioan: for the certaintie is, this is he of whom Marco Paulo maketh mention in his booke, who gouerneth all the Indies, and whose Countrey ioyneth vnto the great Cane of Catayo, where in a battaile betwene them fought, the saide Prester Ioan was vanquished and dyed. And so thenceforth finally ended his Kingdome, so that in these dayes, there is in trueth none of that name or race that raigneth or gouerneth. It is to be vnderstode, that Alonso de payua did verely belieue, that this Emperour of Aethiopia, was this supposed Presbiter Ioan, by reason he was informed and had intelligence that the same Emperour was a Christian, and the People of his Kingdome were also Christians, as hearester I shall declare, when occasion shall serue.

For

Presbiter
Ioan by
errore, is
the verye
Emperour
of Aethi-
opia.

of the East India.

For which cause, I am in opinion, y Alonso did depart towards his Court, taking order and determining with Pedro de Couillian, that at a time appointed they shuld meet in the great Cayro: This conference and determination betwene them so had and accorded vpon, Pedro de Couillian went towards the Indies in a shipp of the Moores of Cananor, and beeinge come to the Indies, he went to the towne of Calicut, and to the Islands of Goi, where he gathered perfect information & intelligence of the spices which they haue in the Indies, and of the commodities which come from other places, and of the lyke sorte of Townes which were ther in the Indies, of all which he set downe the names in the Card he carried with him, albeit ill written. Soo after he had seene those places, he went to Sofala, where he gathered knowledge of the great Iland of San Laurenco, which the Moores doe call La ylla de la Luna: And seeing the people of Sofala, to be blacke as those of Guynee are, he therevpon surmised that all that coast was subdued, and that they might goe by Sea to the Indias, and therefore returning thence, he went to Ormuse, and so to Cayro, where he vnderstode that Alonso de Payua was dead: And beeinge desirous to retarne to Portingale, by chancie he mette with two Jewes of Spaine, the one called Raby Abraham, borne in Vesa, the other Joseph, borne in Lamego: These after the departure of Pedro Couillian and Alonso de Payua, from Portingale, tolde the King Don Ioan, that they had beeene in the Cayro, & vnderstode there much newes of Ormuse, and of theyr tract had with and into the Indies: Wherevpon the King sent letters by Raby Abraham to Pedro Couillian, and to Alonso de Payua, declaring that his pleasure was, they shoulde retarne in the compaie of those Jewes, if they had seene all those thinges, wherof hee gaue them charge and commaundement, at their departure: if not, that then they shoulde sende by those Jewes a declaration, and true reporte what they had seene, and had intelligence of: And nozeoner that they shoulde procure to attaine to the sight

B.iii.

of

The Conquest

The king
of Portin-
gales let-
ters deli-
vered to
the Empe-
rour of
Aethiopia
of Presbiter Ioan , and also shewe and informe what they
coulde concerning Ormuse to Raby Abraham for that hee
had sworne by his lawe never to retourne to Portingale,
vnlesse hee first shewe the same : Upon receipte of which
letters and messege, Pedro de Couillian his purpose of re-
tournynge to Portingale was then stayed: And therefore he
forthwith dispatched Ioseph with letters to the King, his
Lorde and Maister, wherein hee related and fully declared
in every respect what hee had seene in the Indias, and of So-
fala : and lykewile hee sent the Cardes in which all the
Townes names were put downe, that hee had seene : In-
forming also the King Don Ioan, that the Emperour of
Aethiopia is hee who is supposed to bee y Presbiter Ioan: But
I am of opinion , that in Portingale remaineth this
name of Emperour of Aethiopia, for that in his kingdome
hee is not called by the name of prester Ioan , as I will
hereafter declare : When Ioseph was departed, pedro de
Couillian, with Raby Abraham, went towards Ormuse ,
and thence to the straights of the red sea, and having shew-
ed to the same Raby those places and situation therof, Pe-
dro Couillian then sent him to Portingale, with letters to
the king, importynge what hee shewed him, and how that hee
himselfe was determined to make his voyage to Presbiter
Ioan, and after this pursuing that his intent accordynglye,
he came to the presence of y Emperour, that then ther reig-
ned and governed, whose name was Alexander, of whome
hee was verye well receiued , and when hee had presented
unto him the letters of the king Don Ioan , he accepted
the same verye joyfully, in that they came from a Christi-
an Prince so farre distant from his Countrie : Howbeit
hee gave to the same little credite, and yet neuerthelesse hee
gave unto Pedro de Couillian, great honour and gifts: and
when hee was in a readynesse to departe thence, and expec-
ted licence for the same, which hee had requested, and shoulde
haue beene graunted him, the Emperour then deceased: af-
ter whome succeeded in the Empire another named Nahu,
hee coulde not by him bee lycensed to depart thence, neither
yet

of the East India.

4

yet of his sonne David , who was Emperour also , and
succeeded Nahu: so that Pedro de Couillian , remayned in
that Countrie, and neuer after returned into Portingale,
neyther yet the King Don Ioan euer haerde or understande
more of him, and therefore supposed him to bee dead. One-
ly there remaineth the information of his trauailes, which
hee had sette downe and written in the letters which the
Jewes carried: After this came to Lishborne a Frier out
of the Countrie of Presbiter Ioan, to whome the king shew-
ed great curtesie, and vpon whose reporte, and great relati-
on made of that countrie, the king then determined to pro-
ceede in, and follow the discouering of the Indias by Sea,
and therefore hee commaunded two little shippes to bee
made, committing the charge of that preparation , and ap-
pointing for ouerseer or surueiour of the Timber then cut
for that purpose, one Ioan de Braganca his seruant borne
in the woodes, in a village called Daluor, and was brought
to Lishborne to the house of the Myne, in the yeare of our
Lord a thousande four hundred nintie five , the five and
twentie daye of October in the same yeare: and afterward
did succeede in that Kingdome, the most high king of glo-
rious memorie Don Manuel , by whome also it appeared
that he was there elected by divine prouidence for discouery
of those Countries and Provinces, whereby the Christian
faith is so greatly increased and inlarged, & the roiall house
of Portingale so mightely honoured, and the subiectes of the
same so plenteously enriched .

¶ How King Don Manuel the first of that name,
prepared after the decease of King Don Ioan , to
discouer the Indias by one Vasco de la Gama ,
and by other Captaines , and howe they departed
from Lyshborne,

Chap. 2.

The

The Conquest



¶ King Don Ioan being dead, Don Manuel then succeeded him, in whome appeared a higher stomacke, and moze valy- aintnesse of minde (for attaining of things impregnable & making triall, and executing matters that passed common capacite of man, and aboue the reth of naturall knowledge) then was in Alexander the greate. Don Manuel now come to the crowne, and earnestly minded & bent to prosecute that which his predecessor Don Ioan had begun, for discouering of the Indias, and being therin greatly furthered by such matter, order, and intelligence, as he found, and were left by the late king for Nauigation to those farre countries: he then com- manded that Fernan Lorenso, Treasurer of the house of the Myna, should cause to be made and prepared of the tim- ber which was bought in king Johns time, two shippes, wher unto after they were finished, he gaue the names, to the one, the Angel Gabriel, being of an hundred and twen- tie tunne: and to the other Saint Raphael, a shipp of one hundred tunne. And to goe in the compaine of these shippes, the king then bought of a Pilot that was borne in Lagos, called Berrio, a Caruell of fiftie tunne, which had and bare the selfe name of the Pilot: Moreouer he bought a ship of two hundred tunne, of one Ayres Correa. These Shippes thus made readie and prepared, and the king then being in Monte mayor the new, with his first wife the Duene, Do- na Izabel, in the yeare a thousand four hundreth nintie se- uen, he then gaue the chiefe Captaine shipp of this voyage unto the Indias to Vasco de la Gama his seruant, who also before was seruant to Don Ioan, & borne in the towne of Synis, a harbour towne in the fields of Dorricke. The same was a man experemented in matters of the Sea, and of Nauigation, wherein he had done to his kingdome great service. And forasmuch as he was a man of greate courage and valure, and therefore very apt and likely to attaine and atchieue the end, y was by the king desired, the king then ac- cordingly in presence of many noble personages, to his great
praise,

of the East Indians.

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praise, and no lesse incouragement, comandmed him, when he gaue him the charge of that iourney, earnestly also rewar- ring him, to aanswere and satisfie the expectation and credit he had conceiued of him and reposid in him, which if he did, he would then very largely reward that his indeavour, and trauell, and so liberally deale towardes him, as he shoulde finde himselfe satisfied for that his diligence and service im- ployed: and for some profe of those prudely and louing speaches, he then beganne to make performance of parte thereof, at that verye instant, gaiving him an Encou- menda, with money to put himselfe in a readinesse for that voiage: And for to goe with him, the king also dispatched one Paulo de la Gama, brother to the Captaine Generall, and one Nicholás Coello, both of them the kings seruants, and men meete and apt for whatsoeuer matter of enterprise or cause of valiauntesse: Moreouer he appointed one Bartholome Dyas, to goe with them in a Caruell to the My- na: And for that in the shippes of warre, sufficient victualls for the people in the same, could not be carried further then to a place called Saint Blaze, where they must of course take in fresh water, the king gaue comandement that the shipp of Ayres Correa should goe loaden with victuals unto that place in the compaine of the flet, and there to take out the same, and then to burne the said shipp. The Cap- taine Generall thus informed, and dispatched, departed with the other Captaines from the Kings court, towardes Lish- borne, where the shippes being in a readinesse, he unshipped his compaine, being one hundred fortie and eight persons, in Belen, one league from Lishborne, vpon the seaday being the eight day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lorde God, a thousand four hundred kinche and seauen. At whiche tyme all the religious men of our Ladie Church in Belen, which is a Monastrie of Saint Hieronome, went in Proces- sion out for to land in their celles with lexe Cables in their gaines peaking, and the next part of the people of Lish- borne with them, of them weping, and percheable that so unbarkeid shippes, suppling they shold all die in that

The num-
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so aduentrous and daungerous boiage, as in dede the presumption and common opinion thereof was greate, and no lesse to be adiudged of. The Generall and other his Captaines with their people so unbarked, and by the multitude and companie then present, commended to God and god fortune, they sozithwith made saile and departed: The Captaine Generall went in the Ship called Sainct Gabriel, having Pilot for hym, one Pedro de Alanquer, which was Pilot with Bartholome Dyas, when he went to discouer y river called El ryo del ynfante: The brother of the Captaine generall, went in the ship called S. Raphael; Nicholas Coello went in the Caruell Berrio, & one Gonsalo Gomes, servant to the Captaine generall, went for Captaine of the ship that carried their vituals. Thus being set forward and under saile, the Captaine generall commaunded, that if by any happe whatsoeuer, they shold bee seuered and loose each other, they shuld every one make, and keepe their roote or course to Cabo Verde, where they would ioyne themselves together againe. And so following their boiage, they came within eight dayes after to the sight of the Ilandes of the Canaries, from whence going ouer against the River called Ryo de Oro, the night did grove so darke, and such great tempest and storme rose as they lost each other, and therefore they retourned their course towardes Cabo Verde, and Paulo de la Gama, Nicholas Coello, Bartholome Dyas, and Gonsalo Gomes, having met, and after eight daies sailing together, they came to sight of their Captaine Generall, vpon the wednesdaye in the Euening, and saluting him with many shot of ordinaunce, and with sound of Trumpets, they spake vnto him, each of them heartely reioysing, and thanking God for their safe meeting, and god fortune in this their first brunt of daunger and perill: The next day beeing the twenteth day of Iuly, the Captaine general with all his flēt, attained vnto the Ilands of Sancte Ago: wher coming to anker in y play de Santa Maria, they remained there seuen daies, taking in such water as they had need of, & repairing the yards of their ships and other harmes

of the East Indians.

harmes they had receiued in the storme past. Tewsdaiy being the third day of August, the Captaine Generall departed thence, following his course to the East, but first before his departure he tooke his leue of Bartholome Dyas, who Bartholome Dyas returneth into Portingale entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence sailed all August, September, and October, in which time they susteined many and great tempests, or rather tormentes of outragious windes and raine, so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifolde daungers and perills, they presently then saue, and whereof they were forced to abide the euenture: Being thus perplexed, God of his diuine godnesse recomforted them, for vpon the saturdaye, being the fourth day of November at nine of the clocke in the fore-none, they saue land, whereat they greatly reioyzed, and all the Captaines being together, they then saluted the Generall, all of them apparelled in their best araye, and having decked and garnished their shippes with flagges accordingly, they dwel neare the land as the generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed: Howbeit for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea boord, and so they passed along by the same vntill tewsdaiy following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perciuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay, which as it was a convenient place for the shippes, so he commaunded them to fall to an anker there, of purpose to take in wafer: And afterward they named it the Iland of Sancta Hælena. The people of the countrie within the said Iland, as our men afterward found the same: bee lyttle men, ill fauoured in the face, and of colour blacke: and when they did speake, it was in such manner as though they did alwayes sigh, theyr apparell is of beastes skinnes made after the manner of the French Iland, Cloakes, they trusse vp and hide theyr members in certeine Casles made of woode verye well wrought.

C.ii.

They

They haue for armes or weapons certaine staves of an Oke tree bathed or toasted with fire, at the endes whereof are hornes of beasts, somewhat burnt or hardened with fire, also scything them for swords, and wherewith they do hurt their enemie. These people doe mainteine themselves with rooles of hearbes, with Sea Woulses, and Whale fish, of which the countrie there hath great plentie, and likewise of sea crowes, and sea newes: Also they doe eate of beastes, which they call Gazelas, and of doves, and other beastes and birds which they haue in the land: They keepe also dogs as those ben of Portingale, barking after the same manner: The Generall thus lyeng at Anker, commaunded to goe rounde about the Ilande, to see if there were anie riuier of sweete water, and finding none, he then sent Nicholas Coello in his boate along the coast to sike out water, which he found sowe leagues of from thence, the which he named Sancty Ago, from whence the whole flote prouided themselues of fresh water. The next day the Generall and the other Captaines, and some of their compaines went a shoze, intending to see and view what manner of people they were, that inhabited that countrie or land, and whether they could informe him how farre from thence the Cape of Buena Esperansa was, which he knew not, neither was the head or chiefe Pilot of that voyage of any cerfeintie which it was, for that in the voyage, wherein he went before with Bartholome Dyas, he departed in the morning from the Cape into the Sea, and past the same in the night, with a fore-winde, and at his first going, came not neare the Shewe: By reason wherof he did not know the land, notwithstanding, he conjectured and diemed it not above sherte leagues distant from thence at the uttermost: The Generall being disembarked and come to land, and walking there he over-toke a man, one of the inhabitaunts of the same, who was going to gather honny at the foot of a bush, where the Bees made the same without anie hure, with this man, he general returned unto his shipp, right well contented, thinking he had gotten by him an interpreter, but it happened not so, for ther was

was not any of that company could vnderstand him: The Generall commaunded to giue him meate, and he did both eate and drinke of all that was given him, and when they saw he vnderstood none of their languages, nor any of them had any vnderstanding of his, he was the next daye set vpon the shewe well apparelled, from whence he went as it appeared, amongst others his countrey men, for that next day then following, (vpon shew of himselfe to them) there came about the number of fiftene of his Countrey men, where our shippes were: At sight of which the Capaine generall went to lande, carrieng with him Spice, Golde, and Pearle, to make triall, whether those people had any knowledge of the same, or of any part thereof: but by the lytle estimation they seemed to make of those things, it appeared they had no knowledge of the same. Then they gaue them bells, little rings of tyme, and counters, and of these things they wer very glad, and from thence forward vnto the next Saterday following, very many of them repayred to our flote, and those people so returning to their Townes, one of our men desirous to see the same, and to viewe the order and manner of their liues, craved then licence of the Generall to goe with them, whose petition, albeit he was verye unwilling to condescend vnto, yet vanquished by importunitie, he graunted the same. Fernan Veloso (for so was his name that was licensed) then going intheir company, they toke a Sea Woulse, which they rolled at the foot of a hill, and supped altogether: after whiche it then appeared, that they of that Countrey had armed themselves, and practised treason against our men: for so soone as they had supped, they caused Fernan Veloso, to returrie to our flote againe, which was hard by, and when he was departed from them, they followed and came after him a little and a little, the manner wherof, Fernan espieng & fearing, he therefore hasted to the water side, and haled to our shippes: The Generall then being at supper, and hearing that call, and looking out to landward, sawe those savage people comming after him, and presently imagined they meant him harme, and

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and therefore forthwith he commaunded the whole flēte to put themselves in battaile araye , and he himselfe with certaine others, went to landward without anye weapons, dēeming verely that those blacke men meant him no harme, nor would offer anye force : and indeede when they sawe our boates comming to the shōreward, they began to runne away, with a great clamour and outcrye, and so did manye others also which lay secretly hidden amongst certeine bushēs there, which policie they vold to traine our men the rather to lande , for when ours were disimbarke and lansded, they then returned and furiously set vpon them, shooting their darts, and vsing their other weapons in such sort, as they inforced our men to retire to their boates and imbarke themselues, and that in hast, taking with them Fernan Velloso , which being done , the Negroes retourned to theyr townes, hauing hurt the Captaine generall & thre others, who afterward remaining in that road foure dayes, coulde not see any moe of those people, and therefore could not vse any reuenge, for the damage they had done them.

¶ How the Captaine generall doubled the Cape of Buena esperansa, and what hapned vntill they passed the Riuier called El Ryo del Infante. Cap.3.



¶ The flēte haing taken in fresh water and flesh whiche they needed , the Generall and the rest then departed thence vpon the Thursday being the sixteenth daye of November, in the soorenore of the same daye, making their waye into the Sea , with a South Southwest winde, and vpon the Saterdaye then next following in the euening, he came within sight of the Cape of Buena esperansa, and for that the winde was contrarye, as being then Southwest , and the Cape lyeng Northeast , he made his retourne into the Seawarde , whilet

whillest the daye did indure, and when the night came, he cast about towards the shōre, and so in that order he sayled vntill the Wensdaye following , which was the twentith day of November in which time he doubled the Cape: And going along the Coast with a soze Winde , he passed with great pleasure of sundry pastimes , and in sounding of the trumpets in all their ships, chiefly haing their whole confidence in God, by whose diuine furtherance, they hoped to stide out, and attaine to that which they sought for : So passing in this sort along that Coast, they sawe vpon the land great soze of Cattell, whereof some were large, some small, but all of them were growen and fat : Howbeit ther appeared to them no Townes within this lande, by reason that along those Coasts ther are none scituated: but further within the same, there be Townes and Villages inhabited, the houses whereof are all of earth couered with strawe. The people are of colour somewhat blacke, and be apparailed as those of the Countrey of Sancta Helena , speaking the selfe same language , and vsing the selfe same sorte of darts, with some other weapons also for their defence , and annoyauice of their enimie . This Countrey is verye pleasant with Trees and Waters , and ioyning to this Cape on the South side, there is a great Harbour , which reacheth into the Lande sixe leagues , and at the entering it containeth well as much more. The Cape of Buena esperansa beeing thus doubled , the Captaine Generall forthwith vpon the Sundaye after, which was Saint Katherins day, came to the Watering of Haynt Blaze, which is thre score leagues beyonde the Cape, beeing a verie great Baye, and passing god for all Windes, except onely the North winde . The people heare are somewhat blacke of colour, they couer themselues with skinnes , they fight with Dartes of woode tosted or hardened in the fire , and vse for Swords, Hornes and Bones of Beastes, and also they vse Stones to defende themselues agaynst theyr Enimies . In this Lande bee manye Elephauntes and great , also Oren manye both large of stature,

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S. Blaze

Nature, and very fat, whereof some haue no hornes: and vpon the fattest and fairest of the same, the people do vse to ride, sadling them with pannells stuffed with the strawe of Rye, as the manner is in Spayne, and vpon the same they put a certaine frame of wood, and so vse it as a saddle to ride vpon, putting through the noses of such of them as they will sell, a peice of wood, of that kinde whereof they make their arrowes. In this Harbour thre Crossebow shot

Sea vvc. from the shore, within the Sea, lieth a Rocke, in the which most sorne there be many Sea Clowfes, which are as large in bignes & terrible as great Beares, they be terrible, hauing great and long teeth, also so wilde and fierce, that they do forcible set vpon men: their skinnes be so hard that no speare can pearce the same, albeit it be forced vpon it with great strength and vasure: they are like unto Lions, and their little ones crye like young Goates, there be so many of them in y Rocke,

that when our men went therofte of pleasure one day, they saw of them at that instant, the number of thre thousand little and great. In this Rocke also be many Stares, which are as great as Duckes, but they doe not flye, by reason they haue no feathers in their wings, and they braye lyke unto an Asse. The Captaine Generall being come to this Port or Baye, and lieng at Anker there, caused the shippes which carried their victualls, to be discharged thereof, and bestowed the same in the others, commaunding those vesseells to be then burned, as it was ordained and commaunded by the King in that behalfe. In doing whereof, & other things also which were necessarye and needfull to be looked unto, and foreseen, for their more safetie in the rest of their voyage, they remained ten dayes in that place, where, vpon the Friday next after the Captaine generall and the rest had arived, ther appeared vnto them, about the number of four score and ten men of that Countrey, some along vpon the landes, and some vpon the top of their Mountaines, which when the Generall sawe, he and other the Captaines went to the shore ward, and all the company of the shippes went armed in their boates, carrying ordinaunce with them, as

searling

fearing the lyke chaunce y happened to them in the Ilande, of Sancta Helena, the Boates then drawing vnto the shore, the Generall thew on lande little belles, which the Negroes tolke vp, and some of them came so neare vnto him, that he gaue them the bells into their owne handes, whereat he wonderfully meruailed, for that Bartholome Dyas had informed before, that when he was there, they did run away, and wold not be allurede to come so neare vew. The Generall therfore finding & perceiving contrary to his expectation, the gentlenesse of those blacke people, he then leapt out on lande with his men, making exchaunge of certayne red night caps with the Negroes for Braclets of Ivory which they had; and so for that time departed. The Saterday next after came to the number of two hundred blacke men, and more, some little, some great, bringing with them twelue Dren and fourre sheepe, and as our men went on shore, they began to play vpon fourre flutes accordyngly with fourre sundry voyces, the Musickie whereof sounded very well, which the Generall hearing, commaunded the trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this pastime and feasting, and in buying their Dren and sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the selfe same sort, vpon the Sunday following, sunry of the same, and many moe with them as well men as women, came againe bringing with them many lyke, and hauing sole de one Dre, our men saw certaine little Negroes, which were hidden in certayne bushes, who had with them the weapons of the greater sort of men: wherein our men conjectured, that some treason was ment to them, and therfore the Generall commaunded our people to retire to another place, which was of more securitie, and those blacke men went all along the shore directlye against our boates, vntill they came to the place where ours disimbarked themselves, and went vpon the lande in armour. The Negroes then ioyned themselves as though they intended to fight, which the Generall perceiving, and not willyng to doe them anye harme, did then retyre, in barking himselfe, and so to scare them, comman-

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The little
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two brasse pieces of Ordinance to be shot off, where-
at they were amazed, and ranne away without any order,
leaving their weapons behinde them. After this, the Cap-
taine generall, caused to be carried on the shore, a certaine
marke or Piller, with the King of Portingales Armes, and
a Crosse, which being there set and erected, the Nigroes pul-
led downe the same our men yet being there. These dayes
thus passed ouer, the Captaine generall with the rest of the
fleete departed thence towards the Riuier called, Ryo del
infante, vpon the Friday being the eight day of Nouember,
which was the Feast daye of the conception of our Lady,
and in sailing forward on their voyage, ther arose so great
a storne with a forewinde, vpon the daye of Saint Luke,
that our whole fleete did runne with there small sayles,
and that also verye low. In this course they lost the com-
pany of Nicholas Coelio, howbeit the next night after they
all met, and ioyned together againe. Now hauing past and
failed through this great storn, or rather torment of wind,
which then was ceased, the Captaine Generall, vpon the
sixteenth daye of December did discouer lande, which were
certaine small Rockes, being distaunt from the Harbour of
Saint Blaze threescore leagues, and fve leagues also from
the other part of the Rocke called De la cruze, where Bartholome Dyas did erect his last marke: from which place
to the Riuier Del Infante are fifteen leagues. This Coun-
try is very pleasant and lightly in viewe, and in the same
is great store of Cattell, and the further our Fleete sayled
on that Coast, the better and higher the Trés were, all
which things our men might well perceiue and discerne, by
reason they went so neare the shore with their shippes. And
vpon the Saterday they past hard by, and within sight of the
Rocke De la cruze, and for that they were then come so far
forward as the Riuier Del Infante, they were loath to passe
the same, and therfore taking counsell all the next night,
they went somewhat wide from the Coast, with a fore-
winde, vntill Euening time, and then the Winde came
to the East, which was right against them, wherefore the
Captaine

of the East Indias.

10
Captaine generall made to Seawarde, going in such
sort, as sometime he kept the Sea, and sometime dwone to-
wards the lande, vntill the Tuesday being the twentith of
December, at the setting of the Sunne, the Winde then com-
ming to the West, which was a forewinde, and whether
to attayne to haue knowledge of the Lande they consulted
all that night, which were best to doe. The next daye at
tenne of the Clocke in the fore none, they came to the
Rocke aforesayde, which is thre score leagues a stearne the
place, whereunto they minded to goe.

This Rocke, is the cause of the great Currents that
are there, and the selfe same daye the Fleete through pas-
sed the same Course, with a great forewinde, which had
also indured them thre or fourre dayes, and wherewith they
ranne through those Currents, which greatlye they fea-
red, and were in doubt to haue done. These daungerous
Currents, thus safelye and happelye passed without losse
or damage, they all were very glad and ioynfull, that they
god Fortune was to haue passed the same in manner as
Bartholome Dyas before that time had accordanlye done.
Wherefore the Captaine generall, beeing animated and
encouraged with this his great god lucke and Fortune,
and after thankes giuen to God for the same, did then
saye, that hee verelye beleued, that it was Gods god
will and pleasure that the Indias should be founde.

They safe-
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the daige-
rous cur-
rents

¶ How the Captaine generall came to the Lande,
called, La terra de la buena gente, and after
went to the Riuier, called, Ryo de las buenas sen-
nales: how hee brought theyr shippes on
grounde, and of the great sicknesse our people
had after they arriued there. Chap.4.

D.ij.

Thus

Thus following their voyage, they perceived that upon Christmas daye, they had discouered along the Coast, thre score and tenne leagues to the Eastward, which was the waye he carried with him in his Register, and wherein the Indias are: And here the Fleete went along upon the Sea, without taking land, so farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of water for to drinke, and were inforced to dresse their meate with salt water, so that no man of that Fleete had then allowance of water to drinke, more then one pinte a day. Howbeit upon the Friday being the eleventh day of Januari, in the yeare of our Lord God. 1498. drawing neare the lande, they went out in their boates along the Coast to take view thereof, and so passing by the same, they saw many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great stature, which went along the Sea side, and when the Captain generall saw and perceived, that they shewed themselves to be a people, flexible to civilitie, and of a quiet disposition, he commaunded one of our men called Martin Alonso, who coulde speake manye languages of the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande, and to goe to them, which immedately those two persons did: and at theyr comming to the same blacke People, they were of them verye well receyued, and especiallye of the chiefe person or Gouernour of the same, to whome, our Generall biewing his and theyr manner of courtesie, soorthwith sent a Jacket, a payre of hose, and a Cappe, being all redde, and a Bracelet of Copper, of which things he was verye glad, and rendered great thankes to the Generall for the same, saying: that with a verye god will, he shoulde haue of gifte, anye thing he would desyre or had neede of, that was to be had in his Countrey. All which, Martin Alonso, understanding theyr language tolde to the Generall, who was verye ioyfull that

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by his interpretation, those people and ours myght of each other haue vnderstanding, givning also at that instant license to y same Alonso & one moe of our men to goe with those people for one night to their Towne, at the request of the same gouernour, who verie earnestly required the same. The gouernour then apparelled himselfe with those Garments which the Generall gaue him, and with great pleasure gaue commaundement to many of his chiefe men to goe before and receive him when he came to their towne: The people as they went viewed and beheld with greate pleasure and admiration those vestures which our General had giuen him, clapping their hands for ioy thercol, which manner of gladsome reioy sing, they vsed thre or four times, before they came to their towne: And after their entracnce therin, they went round about the same, to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, myght see and behold those giuen garments and straunge arraie: Which being done, the gouernour entered into his house where he commaunded Alonso and his companion to be well lodged, and gaue to them for their supper a Hen euen such as ours bee, and Pap made of Mylyo, which is a kunde of graine of a yeolow coulour, whereof also they make bread: This night repaited many Nigroes to their lodging to see them: And the next daye after the gouernour sent them to their ships with certaine Nigroes of his loden with hem, for the Captaine Generall, who rendered thanks for the same, and required by his interprctour, those Nigroes, to saie vnto their Gouernour, that he now saw and perceived him to be a noble man, or king of that countrie, & forasmuch as the Generall, and the rest of our men in those faire daies wherein they had houered vpon and viewed that Coast had no manner damage done or offered them: and saw beth many quiet and gentle people there, & also many noble men, he gaue to this land an apt name, calling it, The Land of good people, in the Towne where Martyn Alonso was, theyr houses bee made ali of strawe, and verie well furnished within: The women be ioyce in number, then the men:

D. iii.

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curteous
Moors

For in the companie of fortie women there are no more but twentie men: They carrie with them long bowes with arrows and darts of yron, and vpon their armes and legges they weare many bracelets of Copper, and some peeces of them in their haires. Also they carrie daggers, the hafts of handles of Pewter, and the sheathes of Iuorie, so that it is manifest, that they haue in that Countrie plentie of copper and tinne: Moreover they haue great stoe of Salt, which they make of Salt water, carrieng the same from the Sea side in gourds, and putting it into certeine Caues where they make the Salt: These kinde of people were so gladde of the linnen that our men carried with them, and brought with them thether, that they gaue for one shirt much Copper. They also were so quiet amongst our men, that they brought them water to their boates from a riuier which was two Crosbowe shotte from the place whers our men tooke in the same, which riuier they call Ryg de Cobio: From this place our fletē departed the fiftenth daye of Iannuarie, and going vnder saile, did discouer land of an other countrie which lyeth very lowe, wherein were trees verie high and thicke, and so proceeding foward they discouered or found a riuier which was verie open at the entering of the same: And for that the Generall thought it necessarie to reknowleedge or haue notice of that Countrie, & there to learne whether they might haere anye newes or intelligence of the Indias, hee commannded to come to an Ankoz, which was vpon the Thursday, beeing seauen daies before the end of Iannuarie, and the same night he with his brother Nicholas Coello entered the riuier, and at the dawning of the daye, did well perceiue the lande to bee lowe and couered with water, hauing trees of great height, and thicke loaden with sundrie sortes of frutes: Our men then beholding the land, which was verie pleaſant, they sawe also certeine boates, at that present comming towardes them, with men in the same, wherof the Generall was verie glad, supposing vpon sight of those people and view of their countrie, in that manner, which argued they had some know-

knowledge and experiance of the ſea, that therefore they were not farre of from the Indias, or at leaſtwile could not then goe far, but they ſhould haere newes of the ſame: when the people with their boates came neare to our fletē, our men perceived they were all blacke people, of god ſtature, howbeit all naked, ſauing their priue members, which were couered, with little peeces of linnen made of Bonebaſt or Cotten, they came neare and entered into our ſhips without any feare, and in ſuch ſorte vſed themſelues towardes our men, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with them: They were very well received of our people of the fletē, the Captaine Generall commanded the ſame, and also that there ſhuld be giuen vnto them certeine little Wels & other things, & he talked with them by ſignes, for they did not understand any of Martin Alonso his languages, nor any other interpretour y our men the had: After this their god interteinment they departed, and as it ſeemed well liking of the ſame, they and many others with them afterward returned in their boates to our ſhips, bringing vnto them ſuch viuals as their countrie yeeldeth: They in appearance ſhelved themſelues verie well contented with our men, & as they came by water, ſo also did many others of those people repaire thether by land, & amangſt them women of indiſſerent god beautie, especially y young maides, which goe after the ſame ſort, that the men doe: They haue in their lips thre holes, and in every hole a pece of tinne, which they体现出 as a thing verie gallant and gaye: They tooke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a countrie towne there neare hand, and wheres they ſet water for our ſhips. And after the thre daies ſpace that our Generall was in that riuier, there came of curteſie two noble men of that countrie to visit him in their boates, whose apparell was none other, then of the reſt, ſauing the peeces of linnen wherewith they couered their members, were farre greater, then thole the common ſorte vſed, and one of them ware vpon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought with ſilke, and the other had a night cap of graine ſatten.

The curteſie & apparell of the noble men of this Countrie.
The

The Captaine Generall seeing those men somewhat addid to cleanness was verie glad thereof, received them in courteous manner, and commaunded to give them meate, and moreouer he gaue them apparell and certeine other things, but it appeared by their countenaunces they smal- ly or nothing a: all esteemed thereof: Howbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signes which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their countre was farre of thence, and that they had scene as great shippes as ours were, wher- of he greatly reioysed, and all our people in like manner as then verely hoping and thereby conjecturing, that the Indias were neare to that place: which their hope and conie- cture, was also farre the more augmented and confirmed, for that after those noble men were gone to shose, they sent to the Fleet, certeine linnen cloth to sell, which was made of Cotten, vpon which also were certeine marks of Dkar, in respect of which good newes, and intelligence heare found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine Generall gaue to this ri- ver a name, calling it, The Riuier of the good tokens or marks, and caused there a marke to be erected, calling the same San Raphael, according with the name of the shipp wherein hee was, and went that voyage. And soasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those no- ble men inhabited a Countre farre thence, and that they had scene shippes as greate as ours, hee thereby and vpon other conjectures gathered, that their Countre was neare to the Indias, and so consequently that the Indias was farre of from that riuier where our shippes then lay: wherefore consul- ting hereof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined vpon, that all the shippes shold be brought on ground, which determination was executed accordinglye, & the same shippes repaired, dressed, and trimmed in all points needfull and necessarie: In doing whereof they spent and passed ouer two and thirtie daies, in which time our men susteined and passed ouer great troubles and tormentes of minde, by occasion of a sicknesse there happened amongst them,

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nes is cal-
led the
scurfe

them, which was thought to grove by meanes of the aire of that countre, for that the hands and feete of so many of them, and also their gums in such sorte did swell, that they could not eate, and the same so rotted, that the stinke which came out of their mouthes was so great and pestiferous, that none could abide the sauour therof, with this pestilent infection & sicknes our men were greatly discomfited, & many of them dyed thereof, which also put the rest of the compaニー in greate feare and perplexite of minde: Bea, and further would haue increased and aggravated their grieves of bodye and sorowes of minde, were it not that one De Gama a man of god nature and condition had taken spe- ciall care and vised greate diligence, for the recouerye of their healths, and putting them in comfort: who continuallie visited the sicke, and liberally departed vnto them such wholesome and medicinable things, as for his owne bodye he had prouided, and carried with him, through whose god counsell givene, great paines taken, and franke distribution of that he had, many of our men were recouerd, which would otherwise haue died, and all the rest thereby were greatly recomforted.

¶ How the Captaine Generall with all his Fleet, came to the Iland of Monsambicke. Chap.5.

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llands dis-
covered
not
the ente-
ring. He Fleet beeing furnished and prouided of all things necessarie, the Captaine Generall then mindfull of his voyage, departed thence, vpon the Saturday, beeing the 24. day of Februarie, and the same day, and al the night following, for that he was incal- med and to auoide the shose, made way into the sea: and vpon Sunday by Cuensong time, our men discrid thre³ llands a Heabord, all of them being but little or small, they were distant one from another scare leagues: Two of them were reuelenched with great woods, & the third was plaine, to arricke to these llands the Generall was not willing, for

G. that

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that he sawe or conjectured no cause to occasion the same, & therefore he stil kept the sea, staieng & comming to an ankor alwaies as the night appreched, which manner of course & order he vsed and continued the space of sixe daies: And vpon the thursday being the first day of March towards euening, our men came within sight of foure Islands, whereof two were neare the shore, and the other two a Seabord, & for that they would not that night fall with them, they stil kept the sea, minding to passe betwene them, as indede they did: Whereupon the Captaine Generall determined & commaunded that Nicholas Coello, by reason his ship was lese then the others, shuld go first, & so going vpon the friday within a certein harbour, which was betwene y maine land & one of the Islands, the said Nicholas missed y channell, and ramme on ground, which daunger when our other ships sawe comming after, they did cast then about, & went backe, and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that Island, seauen or eight little boates vnder saile, beeing distant from Nicholas Coello a god league: At sight of those boates comming towards them, Nicholas Coello and those which were with him tooke great pleasure, & for ioye gane a great crye, and at their repaire to them Coello and they went to the General and saluted him, to whom the same Coello sayd: How say you sir, here is an other kinde of people: wherevnto the Generall answered, that hee was very glad of that god Fortune, and therewith commanded to let them go a Seabord with their boates, for that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an Ankor, of purpose to understand what land that was, & whether amongst those people, he might heare or haue anye newes or certeine intelligence of the Indias: yet notwithstanding y generals comandement, they in their boates followed our ships, alwaies making signes and calling to our men, therein to stay and tarrie for them, wherefore the Captaine Generall, with the other Captaines came to an Ankor, and so they in their boates approched neare, and came to our flotte: And then

of the East India.

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then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a god stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotter, welted with sundry coelours, some girdeled vnto their knees, and others carried the same vpon their shouolders as cloaks, and vpon their heads they weare a certeine kinde of tucks or kerchiefe somewhat wrought with silke and gold thrid. They haue swords and daggers as the Mores doe vse them, in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbuts. These men being thus come to our ships, they soothlywise came a bord the same with great opinion of assurance, euen as though they had knowne our men a long time, and immidiatlye began to be conuersant, and very familiar with them, vsing their speaches which they vterred in the language of Algarauia, and would not be knowne they were Mores: The Generall commaunded to giue them meate, & they did both eate and drinke with a god wil, of whatsoeuer was giuen them: And beeing asked at comandement of the General by one Fernan Aluares (who could speake y language) what land that was, they answered that it apperteined to a great king which was before, & hwo that Iland was called Mo-sambicke, and the towne there full of Merchantes, which haue traficke with the Mores of the Indias, who bring the ther siluer, linnen cloth, pepper, ginger, siluer ringes, many pearles, and rubie stones, and that out of another Countrie, which remained behinde, they doe bring them golde: Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour there, they would bring them thether, and they shuld perceiue and see the truth, and more at large, touching those thinges they then gane information of: The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines, debating the matter thereof, and argued whether it were god to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, whiche thole Mores had imparted to them, and also there to take some Pilottes to carrye them further, since they were nowe destitute of such: Upon which consultation, it was there determined,

G.ii. that

The Iland
of Monsa
bick, with
the towne
of Mer-
chandise,

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that Nicholas Coello shuld first make an assay & profe for enterance and sounding of the barre, by reason his ship was the least of the fflete: which accordingly he soorthwith did. And so going to enter he went and touched the point of the Iland, and therewith brake his helme, howbeit through God his godnesse, he perished not there although he was in great daunger and hazard thereof, for as he went upon the point bwares, so with quicke spedē and god fortune he gote of the same: Neuerthelesse he perceiued and found y the barre was god to enter, and therfore he came to an anker, two crossbow shot from the towne situated in that Iland, which is in fiftene degrees towards y South, it hath a very god harbour, and also great plentie of the vintuals of that countrie, the houses of that towne be made of strawe, and the dwellers therein are Moores, which trade to Sofala in great ships, that haue no decks nor nailes, but are sowed with Cayro, and their sailes are of mats made of the leafe of a palme tree: some of them doe carrie with them compasses of Ceane by which they doe gouerne, & they be square, they haue also Scarards: with these Moores, the Moores of Indias haue traficke, and with those from the red sea, by reason of the golde they haue there.

Cayro is
the carre
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made

When they sawe our men, they supposed them to bee Turks, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Turks countrie, through intelligence of the Moores which dwel in the red sea, they which were first in our shippes went & tolde their Xeque (for so they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne) which was there for the king of Quiloa, vnder whose obseriance this Iland was.

¶ How the Captaine Generall entered into the harbour of Monsambicke, and how the gouernour there, came to visit him at his shippes, making peace with him, and gave him two Pilotes to carry him to Calicut, verely supposing our people to be Turkes.

Chap. 6.

of the East India.

15



He Xeque or Gouvernor hauing knowledge of our comming, and that Nicholas Coello was come to an Anker in the Harbour, he verely beleueed that they were Turkes or Moores of some ether place, and therfore soorthwith he came and visited him in his shippes, accompanied with many apparellled in silke, whome Nicholas Coello receiued with great courtesie: but soas much as he nor any of his ship could speake their language, the Gouvernour tarried not long, howbeit Coello vnderstoode very well, that the Gouvernour deemeid them to bee Moores, and therefore he gaue him a red Cappe, whereof he made no accoupt, he gaue him also certaine blacke beades, which he carried away in his handes, both which were giuen and taken for token of assurance betweene them: and when he shold depart from our shipp, he required by signes of Nicholas Coello to haue his boate to carrie him to lande, who gladly graunted the same, and sent therewith certaine of our men, which the Gouvernour at his returne to lande, carrie with him to his house, feasting and banketting them with Dates and other things, and sent by them to Nicholas Coello: a pot of Dates preserved, wherewith he feasted the Captaine Generall and his brother, after they had entered the Harbour.

The Gouvernour now perceiving the rest of our shippes arrived in the Harbour, imediately sent to visite them, belieuing they were Turkes, and presented them with many pleasant & delicate meates, demanding also license to come and visite them himselfe. The Captaine generall returned for presents to him againe, certaine red hats, short gownes, corall, basons of brasse, little hawkes bells, and many other things, all which (as the messenger reported, hat carryed the same) he nothing esteemed, as king for what purpose those things were god, and demanding why the Captaine sent him not Scarlet, as the thing which he chisly desired. Notwithstanding he came and visited the Captaine Generall who hauing knowledge of his comming, commauded the shippes

Our men
taken for
Turks, by
the Moores
of Mon-
sambicke

C. iii.

The Gouvernour came accompanied with manie men, all very well apparellled in silke, bringing with them many trumpets of Trumpet, and also other instruments, still plaieng vpon the same: he was a man of a god stature and leane, he brought vpon him as it were a shirt of linnen cloath, which came downe to his heeles, and vpon the same, the lyke of veluet of Mecca, having vpon his head a cappe of silke of many colours, and trimmed with golde, at his girdle, he ware a sword and dagger, and vpon his ffeete shooes of silke. The Captaine generall received him at the entrance of the ship, carrieng him from thence, in that part of the ship, where the same was couered ouer and trimmed in the best manner it might then be, and many of his people with him, the rest remaining that came with him in their beates. The Gouvernour thus being received into the ship, the Generall desired him to take no offence in that he sent to him no Scarlet, since in truth he brought none with him: onely he declared that he had in his shippes, but such Merchaundise, as he would give and bestow for virtualls, when his men shoulde want the same: and that he went in this order, only of intent to find out & discouer the Indias, by commandement of a great & mightie King whose seruaunt he was. All which things the Generall tolde him by the mouth of Fernan Martin, who was the Interpretour betwene them: and then commaunded to giue them such bankeeting meates, and wine as were carried in the shipp, whereof he did both eate and drinke verye well, and so in lyke manner did the other, who came with him, all which were likewise feasted. And as the Gouvernour remayned after this, a very friend to the Generall, so also did his people make much, and ex-

fende great frindship to our men. He asked of our Generall, whether they came from the Turkes Countrey, for that as he had heard saye, the people of the same are white as ours were, requesting also to haue a sight of their Countrey bowes, and of the booke of theyr Lawes: Wherevnto our Generall answe red, that he and his Companye were not of the Turkes Countrey, but that they were of a great Kingdome, which confind vpon the same, and as touching theyr bowes and weaponnes, he shoulde with verye god will see them: But as for the bookes of theyr Lawes, they had none there with them, for to carrie the same, were to no purpose, since vpon the Sea, they needed not the use thereof. Then were brought before him certaine Crossebowes, which also in his presence were bent and shot off, whereat he greatly meruayled. They also produced to sight and viewe of him certaine harnesses or armours, whereat he also meruailed much.

By occasion of this meeting and feasting, the Captaine Generall had notice and intellygence, that from thence to Calycut were nine hundred leagues, and that it was verye needfull and necessarye for him to take a Pilot of this Countrey, to conduct him and his Companye, by reason they shoulde finde manye shoells in theyr Course thereth: and also that along the Coast there are manye Cities: Moreouer he vnderstoode then, that Presbiter Joan was farre from thence within the Countrey. Now since it was so expedient to haue a Pilot, the Generall then requested to haue two such of the Gouvernour, who graunted and made promise of the same, vpon condition that our men shoulde well use and content them: Of these Pilotes so promised, our men were glad, for that if one of them shoulde happe to dye, the other yet might remayne and serue theyr purpose, and for that consideration, our Generall required a couple. After this time, the Gouvernour once more came to visit the Generall, bring ing with him both the Pilotes he had made promise of, to

to each of which was ginen thirtie Crownes and a coate, every Crowne wort in money, five shillings, with this condition, and from that day forward, that when the one of them would goe to shore, the other should remaine in ship, for that our men would alwaies haue one of them on shipp board, whilist they remained in Harbour.

¶ How the Gouvernour of Monsambicke, vnderstanding that our Fieete was neither of the Turkes nor yet Moores, would haue taken and killed them, and how the Captaine generall vnderstood thereof: and what further than followed. Cap.7.



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These meetings and speaches thus had, for assurance of friendship betwene them, & the concourse of them being ended, and the Gouvernour departed, yet then immediately after appeared, that those Moores hauing had such company and long talke with our men had gathered and come to knowledge that they were Christians, wherepon all former good will and friendship of the Moores, was now conuerted into wrath and furie, for they practised meanes to kill our men, and so to take the shippes. The Gouvernour had therof consulted and made provision, for execution of their mischeuous enterprise, which had bene likely to haue taken place, and sorted to a sorrowsfull hap and event, had not the Almightye of his diuine goodness, moued the heart of one of the Moores, which was received for Pilot to discouer the same to the Captaine generall, who fearing least those Infidells should sodainlye in daunger him and his, for that they were manie in number, and with him were but a small companye, did therfore determine to remaine no longer in that harbour. And so vpon the Saterday, being the tenth daye of March, & seuen dayes after his arriuall there, he departed thence, and went with his shippes into the sea, and came to an Anker hards by an

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Isande in the same, which was one league from that of Monsambicke, and this was done, to purpose, that vppon Sunday, they would heare Mass on lande, confesse themselves, and receive the Sacrament, which since their comming from Lixborne they had not done. After our shippes wer thus at an Anker, the Captain general then perceiving the same to be in place of assurance so as the Moores shold not burne them, (whereof before he was greatly afayde) which now by their remoue was prevented and put out of doubt, he ther determined to returne to Monsambicke in his boate, to demand the other Pilot that remained on lande at their comming thence: and so leauing his brother with the fleske in order and readinesse to come and succour him, if he shold see him in daunger, he departed towardes Monsambicke carrieng with him Nichol. Coello in his boate and the other Pilot More. Going in this sort, they saw how there came bearing right with his boate, sixe boates with many armed Moores, hauing long bowes & arrowes, and also shieldes and speares, who when they sawe our men, beganne then to call vnto them, willing them to come to the harbour of their towne. The Pilot More tolde the Generall what they meant by their signes and tokens they made, and gaue him counsell to returne ther, for that otherwile the Gouvernour woulde not deliuer the other Pilot which remained on the shore, at which his speach, the General was very angry, supposing he gaue that counsell, to the ende at their comming neare the shore, he might escape and runne away, and therefore commiandied him to prison, and caused forthwith to shote at theyre boates with their Ordinaunce, which shot when Paulo de la Gamma heard, and belieuing it had bene some further matter of daungers to the General, then the cause therof was intend, he immediately came forwarde with the shipp called Berris vnder sail, which when the Nigroes perceived, they fled, & made away with great hast, and so fast that the Captaine generall could not ouertake them, & therfore he returned with his brother to the other shippes where they lay at Ankor.

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The

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The other
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so against
the fleet

The next day the Generall, with all his men went on land, heard Mass, and received the Sacrament very devoutly, being the night before confessed: which being done, they all went abord their shippes, and made sayle the same day. The Generall perceiving no hope to remaine for recoverie of the other Pilot, which was on shore in Monsambicke, gaue then commandement to release him that was in the ship committed to prison, (as before you haue heard, whome they carried with them on their voyage. This Pilot minded to be revenged vpon the Generall, in stonacke of his unpriuylie, determined to carry them to the Iland Quiloa, which was peopled all with Moors, and as it seemed, meant to informe the King of that place, that our shippes were of the Christians, of purpose thereby to occasion him to kill and destroy them all: and therefore subtillie to shaddowe his wicked intent, he willed and perswaded the Captaine generall, not to trouble himselfe with the want of the other Pilot, for that he would carrie him to a great Iland, which was from thence one hundred leagues, and inhabited as it were the one halfe by the Moors, and the other by Christians, which alwaies were at warr the one with the other, from whence also he myght furnish himselfe with Pilots to carry him to Calycot: But as the Captaine generall had god liking of those speaches, so yet gaue he no great credite to the man, nevertheless he did promise him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and so went forward on his voyage with a small winde. The Tuesdays after, being within sight of lande from whence he departed, he was incalmed, which did indure Tuesdays and Wensdaye, the next night after with an Easterly wind being but smal, he made way, and went into the sea, and vpon Thursday in the morning, founde himselfe and all the shippes, foure leagues backe behinde Monsambicke, & so going vntill the Evening the same day, came then to an Anker hard to that Iland, where the Sunday next following he heard Mass. The winde thus being contrary to his purpose of Pauigation, he therefore remained in that place eight daies to wait for

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for such gale thereof as would serue to put him forward on his iourney: In which time repaired to our shippes a white Moore which was a Minister of the Moors of Monsambicke, who comming on boord the ship of the Generall, declared that the Gouernour of the same Towne greatly did repente him of the breach of peace & friendship he had made with him, & that he would gladly renew the same againe & confirme it, & so remaine a friend. To whom the Generall returned aunswere by that messenger to this effect, that he would make no peace with the Gouernour, neither would he be his friend, vntill such time as he did send to him his Pilot whom he had hired and payed, with this aunswere, the Minister departed, and never came againe. The Captaine generall thus staieng still there, and expecting the winde, there came to him after the Minister was gone, a certaine Moore, who brought his Sonne with him being a boye, and asked the Generall whether he woulde carrie them in his shippes with him to the Cittie of Mylynde, whiche he shoulde finde in the course he shoulde keepe towards Calycut: Declaring that he woulde gladly goe with him, and returne to his Countrey which was neare to Aleca, from whence he came as a Pilot, in a ship to Monsambicke, and therewith aduertised the Generall, not to tarry vpon any aunswere, from the Gouernour, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian. The Captaine was verye gladre of the comming of this Moore, for by him hee deerned, to gather sufficient matter of information and intelligence of the straights of the Redde sea, and also of the Townes that lye and be scituated along the Coast, by the whiche he must sayle to Mylynde, and therefore he commaunded to receyue the same Moore and his Sonne into his shippes, and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no shire of water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter into the Harbour of Monsambicke, to take in there so much as they needed, appointing also there shoulde be great watch, for

A white
Moore re-
pareth to
our shippes.

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prevention of the Mores, least that they should by anye deuise set on fire the shippes. Upon this determination and being prepared accordingly, they proceeded and entered the harbour on thursday, and when the night was come, they launched out their boates to go with them for water, for the Pilot of Monsambicke informed the Generall, that it was within the firme lande, offering to bring him to the same. Whereupon taking the Pilot with him, he departed about midnight to goe therer, hauing Nicholas Coello in his company, and leauing Paulo de la Gama in charge of the shippes. Being come to the place where the Pilot informed the water to be, it could not so be found, for he no doubt, went moore to make escape and runne awaye, then to persourme what before he promised, but whether that he was amazed with imagination of escape, and so could not finde it, or that of mallice (since he could not run away) he would not finde it, he caused them to spend that night without attaining the purpose of their repaire therer, wherefore the day light appearing, and seeing they could not finde the water, the Generall would remaine no longer, hauing but a small company of men with him therer, and fearing least the Mores wold set vpon him, did therefore determine to goe to his shippes, of purpose to fetch moore men, and so if need were to fight with his enimies, knowing also he shold farre better finde the water by day then by night. So hauing bene at his shippes, and there furnished his boates with moore force of men and armour, he returned to shooe ward againe, carrieng with him the Pilot of Monsambicke, and hauing also Nicholas Coello in his companye as before to talie in water. And when they drew neare to the same, the Pilot seeing that he by no meane or deuise coulde runne awaye, did then forthwith shew them the water, which was harde by the shooe side, where also then were in sight the number of twentie Mores skirmishing with their dardes, and shoving as though they were appointed there for the purpose and wold defende the water againe such as wold enterpize to fetch or take any thereof.

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The manner whereof when our Generall sawe, he caused to be shot off, thre gunnes to force them to auoide & giue place in that grounde, so as our men might leape forth of their boates and land without resistance: The Mores amazet & affrighted with cracle and shot of y Ordinance, ran away and hid themselues in certaine bushes, and so our men quietly landed and tolde in fresh water, and a little before y sunne set arrived at their shippes, where they found the compaie there disquieted in minde, for that a Nigroe of chin Cambiaye, Mist to Paulo de la Gama, was that day run away to the Mores, where when the General vnderstod, he was very sad and sorowfull for the same, since he was a Christian: upon the greate and sorrow yereof he remained there fridate following: Upon the Saturday, being the xviij dayes of March, and the even of the Annunciation of our Lady, early in the morning appeared upon the shooe side a More right ouer against the shippes, who cried out with a lowe and shrill voice, sateng that if our men wold have water, they shold nowe come for the same therer, where they shold finde such as wold inforce them to returne. The Captaine Generall perceiving how small account they made of him, remembryng also the iury done him in not delivering the Pilot, and therwith hauing fresh in memorie the losse and running away of the Nigroe, his Pilots seruant, did thereupon grow into some cholar, and so determined to shote of the ordinaunce of his shippes, into the tolone of his enimies, thereby to be revenged vpon the same for the iuries done him by the inhabitants thereof, and this his determination, he imparted to his Captaines, who hauing liking of the same, yelded therento, and immediatly imbarked themselues in their boates, arming the same with such men as they had, and so comming before the tolone, and against the same, there were Mores along the shooe, which had made a pale of boords so thicke, that our men could not perceiue who was behinde the same. And betweene that pale or defence and the sea, vpon the shooe there was one hundred Mores, armed with Targets, shields,

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shields,

prevention of the Mores, least that they should by anye deuise set on fire the shippes. Upon this determination and being prepared accordyngly, they proceded and entered the harbour on thursday, and when the night was come, they launched out their boates to go with them for water, for the Pilot of Monsambicke informed the Generall, that it was within the firme laude, offering to bring him to the same. Whereupon taking the Pilot with him, he departed about midnight to goe thether, hauing Nicholas Coello in his company, and leauing Paulo de la Gama in charge of the shippes. Being come to the place where the Pilot informed the waſter to be, it could not so be found, for he no doubt, went more to make escape and runne awaie, then to perfourme what before he promised, but whether that he was amazed with imagination of escape, and so could not finde it, or that of malice (since he could not run away) he would not finde it, he caused them to spend that night without attaining the purpose of their repaire thether, wherfore the day light appearing, and seeing they could not finde the water, the Generall would remaine no longer, hauing but a small company of men with him ther, and fearing leaſt the Mores wold ſet upon him, did therefore determine to goe to his shippes, of purpose to fetch more men, and ſo if need were to fight with his enimies, knowing alſo he ſhould farre better finde the water by day then by night. So hauing bene at his shippes, and there furnished his boates with more force of men and armour, he returned to ſhore ward againe, carrieng with him the Pilot of Monsambicke, and hauing alſo Nicholas Coello in his companye as before to take in water. And when they drew neare to the ſame, the Pilot ſeing that he by no meane or deuice coulde turne awaie, did then ſet forth with ſhew them the water, which was harde by the ſhore ſide, where alſo then were in ſight the number of twentie Mores ſkirmiſhing with their dardes, and ſhowing as though they were appointed there for the purpose and wold defende the water againſt ſuch as wold enterpize to fetch or take any thereof.

The manner whereof when our Generall ſaw, he caused to be ſhot off, thre gunnes to force them to auoide & giue place in that grounde, ſo as our men might leape forth of their boates and land without reſiſtance. The Mores amazet & affrighted with cracke and ſhot of y Ordinance, ran awaie and hid themſelves in certein buſhes, and ſo our men quietely landed and take in feſh water, and a little before y ſunne ſet arrived at their shippes, where they found the companye there diſquieted in minde, for that a Nigroe of John Cambiaye, Pilot to Paulo de la Gama, was that day run away to the Mores, wherſe when the General underſtoode, he was very ſad and ſorrowfull for the ſame, ſince he was a Christian. Upon the grieſe and ſorrow heereof he remained there ſtſtide ſettling: Upon the Saturday, beeing the thirteene daye of March, and the even of the Annunciation of our Lady, early in the morning appeared upon the ſhore ſide a More right over againſt the ſhede, who cried out with a lowe and threll voice, ſaing, that if our men wold haue water, they ſhould noſte come for the ſame thether, wherſe they ſhould finde ſuch as wold inſure them to returne. The Captaigne Generall perceiving how ſmall account they made of him, remembraing alſo the iury done him in not deliuering the Pilot, and therwith hauing fresh in memorie the loſſe and running away of the Nigroe, his Pilots ſeruant, did thereupon grow into ſome cholar, and ſo determined to ſhote of the ordinaunce of his shippes, into the towne of his enimies, thereby to be reuenged vpon the ſame for the iuries deſte him, by the inhabitants thereof, and this his determination, he imparted to his Captaينes, who hauing likynge of the ſame, yelded therunto, and immeadiately imbarkeſt hemſelves in their boates, arming the ſame with ſuch men as they had, and ſo comming before the towne, and againſt the ſame, there were Mores along the ſhore, which had made a pale of boordes ſo thicke, that our men could not perceiue who was behinde the ſame. And betweene that pale or deſence and the ſea, vpon the ſhore there was one hundred Mores, armed with Targets, shields,

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shields, darts, bowes, arrows, & slings, who so soone as our boates came bin compass or reatch of their slings, began to send forth of the same stones at our men, who immedietly answered them again with shot of Ordinance, throught meanes wherof they left the waters side, retiring within their impaled defence, which was presently after beaten downe with our ordeneance, & the enimies running to their towne, left behinde them two of their compaunie slaine in that place: the defence thus broken downe, and the same all carried away, the Captaine Generall with his men returned to dinner, in which time it was straunge to see howe the Moores ran awaie by land from that towne to another, with feare they had of our men, and from thence they went by water to another place, which was on the other side. After dinner our men went with their Captains to see whether they could take any Moores, verely beleeving that by taking of soule, they shuld for the same haue restitution of Cambraies Negro that was runne away as you haue heard before: And mozeouer they thought to recover two Indians which the Pilot Mooze tolde the General were captiues in Monsambicke. In this iourney onely Paulo de la Gama did take fourre Moozes in a boate. And although ther were other boates wherin many Moozes were, yet could not they be taken, for making hast to the shooe, & attaining the same, they ran away, leauing their boates as a pray to our men, who found in the same much linnen cloth made of cotten, & also books of their lawes of Mahoma, which the Generall commanded to bee safely kept: And albeit he went that day along and before the towne in his boate, as other his Captaines did in like manner in theirs, yet could not they procure anie talke or speach with anye of the Moozes of the towne, and to goe on shoare he durst not, for that he had but few men in number with him, wherfore for that time he departed thence: and the next day retourned to shoare to take in water, which without anye resistaunce was done. Nowe beeing without all hope to recover the Negro and the two Indians, the generall then determined to depart without them, howbeit before his departure, he went to visit the towne of Monsambicke, & the dwellers therein, with some sufficient reuenge, by sending to the same such messengers, as thereby they might deeme him their mortall enemy, through the offence they had giuen him, wherfore vpon the munday following he went before the towne of the Moozes with his Ordinaunce, and shooting into the same, destroied it in such sorte as the people thereof were inforced to abandon the same, and syce into an Ilande within the country. And so vpon the Tewsday being the xviii. daie of March, our Fleet wayed Ankor & departed from the Towne of Monsambicke, & so in going forwarde came to an Ankor hard by two little rocks of Saint George, for so they named it after they came thether, where they remained, for that the wind

winde was contrarie to their purpose: Mererthelesse having, after a small winde they departed, howbeit the same was so small, and the currents there so great that they were cast backward.

Hovv the Captaine Generall after his departure from Monsambicke, went tovwards the citie of Quiola, hovv hee lost himselfe going to the Iland of Mombassa, & how the ship called S. Raphael stroke vpon the Flats, the vvhich now haue the same name. Cap.8.



He Captaine Generall following his boage, and being veryp glad, that they had found, that one of the fourre Moozes which Paulo de la Gama tolde in the boate was a Pilot, & could carry them to Calicut, vpon the Sunday being the first daye of Aprill, came to certeine Ilands which were veriy neare to the shooe, to the first whereof they gaue a name, calling it the Ilande of the Asocado, which they so named, for that they there did whippe the Pilot Mooze of Monsambicke, by comauaundement of the Generall, as well for that he had tolde them those Ilands were frme land, as also before that he wold not shew the Generall the water at Monsambick in the night when they sought for the same as before is declared: and therfore now taking him with the lie, as informed of those Ilands, the Generall was veryp angry with this Pilot, supposing as it was likly, that he did carrie them thether, of intent the shippes shold be cast away amongst the same: The Mooze being cruellye whipped confest & indeed he did carrie & train them thether of purpose they shuld therhave perisched, and bene cast vpon the daungers and rockes of the Ilands: These Ilands were so manye and so neare together scituatcd, that they coulde hardiye bee discerned one from another, which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the Seaward, and vpon the Fridaye which was the fourth daye of Aprill, made his way to the Northwest, & before the noone tide of the same, had sight of a gteat land, and of two Ilandes neare to the same, about which, were many shoels: now being come neare to the shooe, the pilots Moozes did reknowlede the same, howbeit they said the Iland of the christians is that of Quiola, which was behinde or a sterne vs 3. leaghes, wherwith the generall was much grieved, beleeving & certeinly they were Christians as the Pilotes had informed him, and that they had willingly lost their course, for that the shippes shold not arriuue at that place. The Pilotes shaddowing their treason made shew of a

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reasonable excuse, saing, that as the winde was greate, so were the currents swift, by reason whereof the shippes had further made saile then they thought so; But the truth was indeede, that they more sorrowed their missing and passing by the Iland where they informed to be Christians, then did our Captaigne Generall: For they were verely in hope to haue been reneged ther, vpon our men by death of them all: But GOD beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his divine godnesse and mercye delivered them from the same, and that by a great miracle: For if our men had gone thether, not one of them had escaped with lyfe, since the Generall having such a beliefe & opinion, that there were Christians in that Iland (as the Pilot had tolde him) would no doubt haue gone presently on land at his arriall there, and so thereby runne headlong into a place where he and his people shoulde haue bene put to slaughter: The Generall thus sorrowing the misse of that Iland, for that he supposed there to haue found Christians, and the Pilots Mores in chace with themselves for that they had missed their course thether so purpose aforesaid, it was then on each part determined, to goe back and assay to finde the same: neuerthelesse although they earnestly bent themselves to attaine vnto that desired Ilande, and spent that daye in frauell to wylne their purpose therein, yet could they not preuaile thereto: For still the winde was so contrarie, and the currents so great, as doe what they could, they failed of their wills, and were put off from arriall there, which no doubt was done by Gods prouidence, and of his meere fauour and godnesse towards our men: as not willing they shoulde receiue anie daunger, or susteine crueltie, or losse of lyfe, amongest thole Infidels, and therefore miraculously he preserued our people from the effect and sequelle of the malice of thole two Pilots of the Mores of Monsambicke, which had imagined in their mindes, and trauailed to bring to finall and execution their diuellish intent: The Captaines generall and the other Captaines thus tossing vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their shippes, as also in their mindes

mindes, determined to beare towards the Ilande of Mombasa, in which as thole two Pilots gaue information, were two Townes, peopled and inhabited as well with Mores as Christians: (which instructions thole Pilots gaue, to the intent to deceiue our men, and to traine them thether, of purpose there to kill them, for that in daire that Ilande was altogether and whollye inhabited by Mores, as in lyke manner all that Coaste is,) and therfore vnderstanding that from thence to Mombasa are seuentie seven leagues, they made way to goe thether, and being then towards the North, in which the Mores Pilots sayde there were two Townes, one of Christians, and the other of Mores, as aforesayd. Thus they sayd and intreated to the intent to bring our men in opinion, and make them beleue that there were in that Land, and thole Coastes many Christians. In this sort our shippes going vnder saile, certayne dayes, the shipp called Saint Raphael by fortune one morning two houres before daye light, came on ground vpon certaine shoells, two leagues from the firme lande, and as she strake on ground, they within made signes to the other shippes to take heede and beware, wherevpon they shot by the shoells and came to an Ankor, launching out their boates to give succour to Paulo de la Gama Captaigne in the Raphael, and perceiving when they came to the same, that the master did ebbe, the Generall was meauious glad thereof, for then he well knew, that at the next flood the shipp would be afloate againe, so that no[n] he lost the feare and ialousie he had conceiued, vpon the doubt he had that she was lost. Thus reconsol'd with the certaintie they saw of y safteie of the shipp, they forthwith layed into the sea many ankers. By this time it was daye lyght, and after that it was a lowe water, she then remained drye vpon the shore being a Sandie ground, whiche was the cause she tolke no harme, by strikking vpon the same. Our men placed their linkers which were layd forth right ouer against themselves, and walked vpon the Sandes whilist the Ebbe endured.

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So saing for the cloud, and beholding and viewing that Ilande, so faire as they coulde see, they gaue for name to those Sandes, the Shoells of Saint Raphael, in respect of the name, the shippes there so hazarded did beare. And to certayne great Ilandes and Hilles which were within the firme Land, directly ouer against those shoells or sands, they gaue the name of The Hills and Ilandes of Saint Raphael, vpon the same consideration.

The shippes thus being dyxe, our men salwe two boates, and Hawes of that Country in the same comming towards them, to see our shippes, bringing manie swete Drenge, faire better then those of Portingale, and gaue the same to our men, saleng also to the Generall, that in no wise he should feare anye damage that coulde ensue to the shippes on grounde, for that when it were full Sea, he woulde then be on floate agayne, so as at will and pleasure the same might passe on the intended voyage thereof, with which speches the Generall was very glad not onely for the god comfort they gaue him, but also in that they came in so god season and time opportune, and therefore he gaue them certayne giftes, which they accepted with manye thankes, and certayne of them vnderstanding that our Fleete intended their Course to Mombasa, they desired the Generall to carry them with him thether, who graunted their requests, permitted them to abide and remayne with him, the others retурning from our Fleete to their Countrey. And when it was a full Sea, the shippes before on ground was afloat, and so came off from the Sandes, wherevpon the Captaine general returned, and proceeded on his way, with all his Fleete.

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The description of the Iland and Citie of Mombasa, and how the Captaine generall arrived there, and what was the sequell that hapned him after he came thether. Chap.9.



He Generall following this voyage, did vpon the Saterday beeing the seauenth day of Appill, about the going downe of the Sunne the same daye come to an Ankoy without the Barre of the Iland of Mombasa, whiche is haide by the firme lande, and is verye plentie of victualls, that is to saye, Millyo, Rice, and Cattell, as well great as lytle, but all well growen and fat, chiesly their sheepes, whiche be all without tayles. Also they haue manye Hennes: Moreouer, the Ilande is verye pleasant, haning many orchards, wherein are planted and are growing, great store of heartes, and manyn sorts of frutes: that is to saye, Pomegranets, Figges of the Indias, Drenge both swete and sorwr, Lymons, and Cidrons, and in the same are manye excellent god waters. In this Ilande there is a Citie, bearing the selue same name of the Ilande, being in fourte degress on the South side, it is a verye great Citie, placed and situated vpon an Hill, which also is a Rocke, wherewpon the Sea doth beate, so that it cannot bee undermined.

At the entering into the Portes or Haven there is a Marke: and at the enterauance vpon the Barre, there is planted or builded a lytle Fort, lowe and neare to the wa-ter. The most parte of the houses in this Citie, are bui-lded with lyme and ston, with the losles thereof wrought with fine knottes of Plaister of Paris, the stretes therena are verye sayre. They haue a King of then selues, and the dwellers or inhabitants of the same are Mores, whereof some bee white, and some browne of colour, both men and women: it appeareth they are god men on horsebacke.

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They goe gallantly arayed, especially the women, which go appareld in gownes of silke, and be decked and garnished with Jewells of golde and precious stones. In this Citie is great trade of all kindes of Marchandize. There is also a god Harbour, where always are manye shippes lieng at Roade, and from the firme land commeth thether great plentie of Honnie, Clare and Iuorie, the Captaine Generall thus come to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter seforthwith, for that it was almost night when he came to an Ankor. But he commaunded to put forth the flagges, and to tell their shippes, reioycing and making great mirth, for that their god fortune, and hope they conceyued, that in that Ilande there dwelled manye Christians, and that the next daye they shold heare Mass on the shore. Moreouer they were greatly comforted, as hauing such confidence, that in this place they myght and woulde cure and heale all such as were then sick amongest them, as in truth were, almost all that were there present, albeit in number but fewe, for all the others were dead. Yet such as remayned and had escaped the sicknesse and diseases past, and were not dead of the great infirmitie and troubles before in this voyage chaunced unto them. Being thus at an Ankor, and the night almost approached, our men saw about an hundred men in a great Warcke, every one of them haing a Swerde and a Target, who at their comming to our shippes, woulde haue entered therein with all theyr weapons: howbeit the Generall wold not consent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter then fourre of them, and those also without weapon, declaring to them in their language that they shoulde pardon him since he was a stranger, and therfore coulde not tell whom he myght trust, and unto those whom he gaue license to enter aboorde his shif, he gaue god and gentle entertainment, banqueting the same with such Conserues as they had, (whereof those Moyses did well eate) willing them not to detaine euill of him, for his deayall of theyr enterraunce in manner as forsayle, whereunto they auersured, that they comming

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comming then was to see him as a rare and new thing in that their countrie, and that he shoulde not meruaile to see them bring theyr weapong, since it was the custome & use of the same to carrie them as well in peace as in the tyme of warre: also they further declared vnto the generall, that the king of Mombasa did understand of his comming, and for that it was so neare night, he had not then sent to visit him, howbeit the next day he woulde, and that as he was glad of his arriuall there, so also woulde he be more glad to see him, yea, and to give him splices to load his shifs, furthermore, they informed him that there were many Christians, which lived by themselves in that Iland: wherevpon the General was not onely ioyfull, but also fully perswaded that their report thereof was true and vnfained, since the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information and talkie of the two Pilotes, neuerthelesse he carried some sparke of ialousie in his head, and for all their faire speaches and sugred talke, he wisly imagined y those Moyses, came to see whether they myght, by anie traime take one of our shife, wherein he gessed vpon the truth, for certeinly their comming then was onely for that purpose, as afterward it was made apparant. For most true it was y the king of Mombasa did know and had perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and also what we had done in Monsambiche, & therfore he practised meanes to be reuenged of vs, by taking our shifs and killing of vs, wherfore prosecuting his wicked intent therein, the next daye following, which was Palme sundate, he sent to our Generall certeine white Moyses, which declared to him y their king was very glad of his comming thether, and that if he wold come into his harbour, he wold liberally give him all things he stode in neede of, and for assurance of the same he sent him a ring, a sheepe, and many sweete Dranges, Cidrons, and Sugar canes, giuing also thysse Moyses iurisdictions to tell him further, that they were Christians, and that in the Iland were many christened people: All which they did in such sorte counterfaite, and with so great and deere dissimulation, that

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our men thought verely they were Christians: wherefore the Generall received them very well, and gaue them certeine giftes, sending to the King greate thankes for his gentle and liberall offer, saing further, that the next day he woulde come neerer in: He sent also to the King a braunch of Corall verye fine, and for more assuraunce to confirme the same, he sent with those Moors two of our men, which were banished persons, and were carriid of purpose to bee aduentured in such like respect of daunger, or to be lefte and putte on shote in such places, where it shoulde be thought god to understande somewhat, and then to retorne and be taken in againe, when our men and the two Moors were gone: and come to the shore, there met them a multitude of people to see them, all which went with hem and viewed them, euen to the kings Wallace, where our men beeing entered, they passed through thre dores before they came where the king was, at each of which there was a Porter attending, haing euerye one of them a sworde in his hand. They found the King but in small estate, neuerthelesse hee received them verye well, and commaunded that in the selfe same companie of the Moors with whome they came, they shoulde be shewed the Citie, and carried about the same in going and viowing whercof, they sawe in the Streetes many men prisoners in yrons, but because our men understoode not their language, nor they had any understanding of ours, there was no question demanded by our two messengers, what Prisoners those were, howbeit they beliede the same to bee Christians, for that our Generall was informed by the two Pilotes, and the Kinges messengers, (as you haue before hearde) that there were in that Ilande such Christians, which also had warres with the Moors.

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house of the Indias, which were Christians, who haing information that ours also were people Christened, shewed themselues to be ioyfull thereof, both imbracing and banqueting them, shewing them painted in a Paper, the figures

gure of the holy Ghost, the which they did worshipe, and before them made their Prayers vpon theyr knes, and that with such a countenaunce, and shew of greate devotion, as though they were such men inwardlye indeede, as in appearaunce outwardlye they then pretented, and made shewe off: Furthermore, the Moors then tolde our men by signes, that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place farre from thence, and therefore they would not carrie them thether: howbeit they sayde, that after our Captaine Generall were come into the Porte or Harbour, they shoulde goe and see them. All these thinges those wilie people, shewed and imparted to our men, of purpose to deceiue them and to allure them to come within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy and kill them all.

After they had scene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them Pepper, Ginger, Cloaues, and Wheate, giuing them of euerye sorte thereof some portion to be carryed and shewed the Generall, and sent him worde by his messenger, that of all those commodities he hadde greate stoe, and woulde giue him his loading if that hee woulde. Also that he had Golde, and Siluer, Amber, Ware, Iuoye, and other riches, in so greate plentie, that hee shoulde haue and finde there when hee woulde for lesse valour and priſes, then in anie other place.

This Message was brought to our Captaine Generall vpon Mundaye, who haing scene the Spices, and hearing of the Kinges promise, to furnishe him the same, and to lade him therewith, was meruailous gladdie of that offer, and so much the rather, was hee confirmed in opinion of god lucke, for that our two banished men, hadde gathered such intelligence, and made him to fall and god declaration of the People, Citie, and Ilande there, and chieflye of the two Christians, they founde in the House of the Merchauntes of the Indias.

Wherefore he & his Captaines immediatly aduised themselves thereof, and so entering into counsel for the same, it was by them thought good, to come within the port, and to accept the offer of Spices, and afterwarde to goe on theyr boage to Calicut, where if they could not haue the like, they wold remaine content, with that they shold haue in this place; and thus hauing concluded vpon these pointes, they determined to enter into the harbour the next day: in this meane while came certeine Mores to our shps with so great quietnesse, and humilitie, and with such shew and appearance of friendlinesse and loue, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with our men: The next day following in the morning, y^e cloude being come, the Generall commanded to take vp their Ankors, minding to enter the harbour, but God not willing that he and the rest shold enter into that present mischiefe, nor to ende theyr lives in that place (as the Mores had determined they shuld haue done,) did therefore cause and prouide the maner that preuented that perill, and wrought their safetie: For when the Generalls shp had wayed her Ankor, and was going to enter the port, she stakke vpon a shoel that was astern the same, which hap when he perceived, and fearing hee shold cast himselfe away, he then forthwith commanded, to let fall his Ankor, & in like sort did the other Captaines also: which chance when the Mores that were in the shps sawe, & that the Generall was come to an ankor, they then imagined that during that daye, they shoulde not gette the Fleet into the harbour, and therefore they ran to theyr boate, which they had on the shps side to goe to the Citie, at which instant also the Pilots of Monsambicke, falling a stearne the Admirall, toke the water, and those of the boate toke them in and carried them away with them; altho the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe: But when he sawe they would not so doe, then he apparanlye perceived that ther was an euill meaning in their King and them, to waards him and his, and that it was his great godnesse and

God sent them fathery checks to keepe the frō vter destruclio

fauour

fauour to give him cause of staye, by haþing vpon that shoell, thereby to preserue him from their treason imagined, and put in practise: Thus haþing declared to all his company, His opinion he conceiued of that whiche then before their eyes was done, and appeareth to be deuided and wrought against them, he then commaunded the night beþing come, to gine some tormentes or torture, to two of the Mores, which he brought captiue with them from Monsambicke, thereby to see whether they had practised any treason, and to inforce them to open and disclose the same: whiche commaundement being obserued, and put in execution, by heating and dropping of bacon vpon their flesh, they immediately confessed, they had conspired treason, and that the Pilots toke the Sea, as fearing the same had ben disclosed: wherevpon the Generall, altogether altered his minde and purpose of going into that Harbeur. Neuerthelesse being vnquiet and greatly greeued at their falding, he was desirous to vse lyke torture to another More captiue also: to make triall whether he were of counsell and in consort with the rest.

But this More perceiuing preperation made for that purpose, did cast himselfe his hands being bound, into the sea, as in lyke manner another of them did, before it was daye light. The secrete of the mischiefe prepared, being thus come to apparaunt view, and so discouered, the Generall gaue great thankes to God, by whose only godnesse, he and his company were delyuered from imminent death and slaughter amongst those Infidells, and therefore in contemplation and thankes givinge for the same, he and his company beeing abord the Admirall, sayd the salut Regina. After this being mindfull of their safetie, and fearing least the Mores would attempt some matter against them in the night time, they therefore ordained strong and diligent watch, commaunding euery man to watch armed: And heere by the way is to be noted one thing, and that to be meruayled at, whiche is this: That when our men came first before the Towne of Mombassa, all such antongest

V.

then

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Tunnic
good
meate &
plentifull
in the
coast of
Mombassa.

them as then were sick, (which indeede were many) began then presently to be whole: so that in this time of theire great necessitie, and daunger, they felt and found themselves sound and strong, which as it was past all hope and expectation of man, and farre aboue the common course of Nature, and operation of the same, so the more lively it appeared to be the merciful and supernaturall worke of God, and therefore miraculously done at this instant time of necessitie, when his divine power was to be seene and extened, for the preservation of that poore distressed number, which then had their onely affiaunce in him. The watch thus prepared and set for that night, it fortuned that those which watched in the shipp Berrio, felte the gabell of the same wagging, whereat an Ankor lay into the Sea, and at the first they adiudged that the gabell had bene wagged or shaken by a kinde of Fish called a Tunnic whereof many were there about which be very great and god meate, but gining better and more attentiuе eare thereto, they then perceiued that their enimies were at the same, who in truth did swimm about the gabell, and were cutting of it with their woodknives or falchings, and hoping or rather vere-ly knowing, that perfourming their enterprise thereof the shipp would runne a shone, and so both she and our men in the same be cast away and taken: For by any other devise they coulde not accomplish their willes, and therefore they practised this meane. Howbeit our men having discryed whereabout they were, preuented them, by crieng out and calling to the other shippes, showing what was in doing, and willing them also to beware and looke to the same, wherevpon they of the shipp Raphael, came presently to their succour and rescwe, finding some of their enimies amongst the cheines of the tacklings of their formast, who perceiuing how they were discouered, sodainly cast them-selues under water, and with the others that were cutting the gabell of the shipp Berrio, fledde away swimming to certaine boates, which they had lyeng somewhat farre off, wherein (as our men afterward vnderstoode) were many Mores,

of the East India.

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Mores, who taking them in, rowed fast away, and so returned to the Citie. The Wednesday and Thursday following, our Fleete still remained there, about which in night time came the enimies in boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shone, from which some of them did swimm of purpose to espie, if by any meane they could cut a sunder the gabells of the Ankors, but our men obserued and kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuale, neuerthelesse our men were greatlye troubled, and put in feare of burning their shippes. For truly it was to be morayled at, that the Mores came not about the same in such shippes as they had, which if they had done, it had bene then lykely by all conjecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed vs all. It was conjectured that they beeing in feare of the Ordinaunce in our shippes, durst not give attempt to set vpon the same by force, but whatsover cause appeared in our sightes to bee a lette in that respect to them: It was most certayne in dede, that it was God his god will and fauour, to put their hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forceable manner, whereby we might be preservued from the crueltie intended towardes vs.

¶ Heerein is contayned matter of the Citie of Mylinde, and how the Captaine generall came thither, Chap. 10,



The Captaine generall did willingly tarre & remaine before Mombassa, the two daies as before is declared, of purpose to see if he could haue from thence two Pilots to carry him to Calicut, for that without them it was verye hard for him to goe thither, ¶ij.

Since

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since our Pilots had no knowledgs of that Countrey. But when he sawe he coulde not haue anye there, he departed thence vpon Friday in the morning with a small winde, and at the comynge ouer the Barre, he lefte behinde him one of his Ankors, for his men were so weareid with hunning and hailing vp the rest, that they coulde not waxe vp the same, which afterward being found ther by the Mores, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the Kings Vallacie, and remained there at what time Don Franco de Almeyda was the first Lord President of the Indias: who when he tooke the same towne from the Mores, found this Ankor there, as I shall declare in the second Booke of this present Treatise. Being thus departed from Mon. basa and palling on their voyage, eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his Fleete, through lecke of winde, came to an Ankor hard by the land in the night, and in the dawning of the daye, they discouered two Sambucos (which are little Pinnacie) vnder the lye, thre leagues from the Fleete a Sea bord, which when the Generall sawe, and being desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to Calicut, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne; if he could take those small boates or Pinnacie, and therfore wayng his Ankors, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil Euerlong time, at which instant the Generall tooke one of them, but the other ranne alande, from whence before it came. In this Pinnace which was so taken, were seauenteene Mores, amongst which was one olde More, who seemed to be Maister of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife: In the same also was found great stoe of siluer and golde, and some victualles. The Captaine not stayeng vpon this occasion, forthwith went forwaide, and in the selfe same daye with his whole Fleete came harde by Mylynde, which is eightene leagues from Mon-bassa, and in thre degrees to the Southwarde it hath no god Harbour, for that it is almost an open Roade, but there is a certaine Pierc or recise wheron the sea doth bear, which

Among the Mores
also olde
men use
to marrie
young wome-

of the East India.

which is the cause why the shipe doe ride far from þ shore: This Citie standeth in a broad field along the Sea side, & round about the same are many Palme trees, with many other sorts of trees, which all the yeare grow græne: Also many Gardens and Orchardes, replenished with all kind of hearbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good wa-
ters in the same: But principally their Dronges excel, which are not onely very great, but also very sweet and pleasant in tast: They haue also great stoe and plentie of victualles, as Mylyo and Ryse, Cattell both greate and small, also great stoe of Hernies, which bee very fat and god cheape. The Citie is great, hauing in the same faire streets, & many faire houses of lime and stonye, builded with many lossts, with their windowes and tarris made of Lime & earth: The naturall people of that Countrie are blacke, and of god proportion of bodie, with curled haire, the straungers which resort thereto & make their abode there, are Mores of Arabia which doe geuerne themselves very well & com-
mendably, especially the Gentlemen, who from the girdle upward bee naked, and from the same downeward doe couer themselves with silke, and with very fine cotten cloth, and others with short Cloakes made of Cotten after the olde fashion, the which they doe weare to couer their arms pits: and vpon their heads, they weare a certeine manner of Cloth wrought with silke and golde. They weare also rich Daggers with great tassels of silke, of many colours, and swords very well garnished: They be all left handed, and carrie with them alwaies bows and arrowes, for they use the pastime of shooting, & be great god Archers. Moreo-
ver, they account themselves to be god horsemen, although there be a common saying or speach vsed by the inhabitants in the coasts theraboutes: The men on horsebacke of Mon-bassa and the women of Mylynde: for as in Mon-
bassa be very god horsemen, so in Mylynde are very faire women, which goe richly apparetled: In this Citie also dwel many Gentiles of the kingdome of Cambaya, which is in the Indias: and these are greate merchants vsing tract

Mylynde
like a city
of Portingale.

or traficke for golde, whereof there is some in that Countrey, as in like manner ther is Amber greace, Ivory, Pitch, and Ware, all which they give in exchaunge to such as come from Cambaya for Copper, Quicksiluer, and Cloth of Cotton, and that the one and the other hath gaines therof: The king of this Citie is a Moore, and is serued with farre greater estate then the other kings which remaine behinde. The Generall being come ouer against this Citie did reioyce in his heart very much, and so likewise did all the rest of the Fleete, for that they now sawe, a Citie lyke unto thole of Portingale, and therefore they rendered most heartie and humble thankes to God, for their god and safe arriuall there: And being desirous to haue some Pilottes to carrie them to Calicut, the Generall commaunded to come to an Ankoy, minding to assay if he coulde by anye meanes obteinie such there as might serue for that purpose: For vntill this time, he could not know of the Moores he had taken, whether amongst them were any Pilotes, who albeit they were offered tormentes, still answered and said, there were none of them skilfull in that respect.

¶ How the Captaine Generall sent a Moore in message to Mylynde, and what aunswere the King made him. Cap. 11.



THE next day after being Easter even, the old Moore which was taken Captiue, with the rest in the Pinnace, tolde the Generall that in Mylynde were foure shippes of the Christian Indias, promising also that if he would license him, and the other Moores to goe to land, he would give him for his resgat, Christian Pilotes, and moreouer wold furnish him with all things he had neede off. The Generall being well pleased with the speaches, and offer of this olde Moore, commaunded to wey they Ankoyes, and so remoued and came to an Ankoy with-

in halfe a league of the Citie. But from thence there came no bodie to our Fleete, for they feared and were in doubt that our men would take them captiue, and besides they knew by the Pinnace which the Generall tooke, that we were Christians, beleueing also that our Shippes were Shippes of warre: All which the Generall supposing they conjectured: hee therefore vpon the Munday in the morning commaunded the olde Moore to a certeine shelle lyeng ouer against the Citie, and there to leaue him, from whence he deined they woulde fetch him, as indeed they did, for when our Boate was gone from thence, there came from the shoare a boat for the Moore, & so caried him awaie presently to the King, to whome the Moore declared on the behalfe of the Generall what hee requested to haue, and further that hee desired to be at peace with him, in respect of his noble personage, whereof hee had heard greate god reporte, hoping also that it was God his great god will & pleasure that the Indias shoulde bee discouerdy, whiche the rather by his aide & furtherance might be accom-
plished. The king hearing and receiuing in fauourable part the message, and messenger, was also verie gladde thereof, and soorthwith retourned the Moore in a Boate, sending with him one of his owne seruautes, and a Priest by whome hee sent the Captaine Generall wozde, that he was verye willing to conclude a peace betwene them, and that hee woulde give him such Pilotes, as he woulde desire, with whatsoeuer besides he had neede of, and by these messengers were presented to the Generall, from the King thre shēpe, many Drenges, and Sugar Canes, whiche he received in thankfull wise, & by the selfe same messenger, returned answere to the king their Maister, that he graunted unto, and accepted of the peace inoued and offered betwene them, and was and woulde be readie to confirme the same. Moreouer hee saide vnto them, that the next daye, hee would enter into their Harbour, and that the King shoulde understande that hee came from, and is subiecte to a greate King, vpon the Cape of the Occident, who was

A present
sent to the
Captaine
Generall
from the
king of
Mylynde

was desirous to know where the Citie of Calicut stode, & had sent him to finde out and discouer the same, commanding him also, to make peace with all kings and Princes, vpon whose territories in his wate, he shold hap to come and arriue, which would be willing to haue the same with him: and further tolde them that it was now two yeares since he came from his Countrie, and that the king his Maister was such a worthy and puissant Prince, as the king their Maister would be gladde to knowe him for his friend: Thus haing talked and discoursed with them to effect aforesaid, hee then dismising them, sending by the same for a Present a Hat, (which in that time was vsed) and two branchees of Corall, thre basons of Brasse, certeine little Bells, and two Scarfes to the king. The next daie after, being the second after Easter daie, the Captaine Generall came neare to the Citie, whereof the king haing knowledge, did immediatly send to visite him, in moze honourable sorte: for hearing how farre of he was come, and what he sought, he adiudged the king of Portingale to be a Prince of a great stomack, and the General to be a worthy subiect in obeying to hazard hymselfe, in so daungerous and long a iourney. Also hee conciued greate pleasure in his heart that he shoulde see such people, as had so long time traualied vpon the sea, and so desirous to see our men, he sent word to the Generall, that the next day following, he would in his own person visite him, and that their meeeting should be vpon the water, and therewith sent him sixe Sheepe, and stoe of Cloues, Ginger, Pepper, and Nutmegs. This message thus declared, the Captaine Generall yelded to the kings determination, and therevpon did enter neerer, and came to an Ankor, hard to the fourre shippes of the Indias, (whereof the olde Mare tolde him before,) The Owners then haing knoledge that our shippes came from a Christian Countrie, and that we were Christians, did immediatly come to visite our Generall, who at that instant was in the ship of Paulo de la Gama: These men are hewone of colour, but they are of god stature & well pro-

proportioned: They goe apparelled in long white golwes made of colten, they haue great beards, & the hayre of their heades is long lyke unto wemens, and pleited vnder theyr toockes, which they weare on theyr heades. The Generall at theyr repaire to him, received them verye well, asking them first whether they were Christians, by an Interpreter he had that could speake the Algarauia tongue, wher of they had some vnderstanding, sayeng that it was not their proper language, howbeit they yet had some knowledge thereof, by occasion of the trade and talke they vsually haue with þ Mores, of whom they aduised him to beware, and not haue ouer farre trust and confidence in those of Mylynde, least that the sequell of their inwarde meaning, were farre contrarie to their outwarde shewe. The Generall determining of himselfe to make tryall, whether they were Christians or not, or had anye knowledge of God, comandanted to bring forth a Table, wherein was painted the picture of our Ladie at what time she wept, in which also were the pictures of some of the Apostles, and shewed the same to the Indians, not telling them what it was: whiche when they sawe, they fell presently downe vpon the ground, worshipping that Representation, and prayed a while, whereof our Generall was verye toyfull, and then demanded whether they were of the Citie of Calycut, wherunto they aunswere, No: howbeit they sayd they were of another Citie, further off called Grangalor, but of Calicut they could not say or informe any thing. And from this time, so long as our Fleete remayned there, they dayly came to the shippes of Paulo de la Gama, to make their prayers before that Table, and did offer to the Images in the same, Pepper, and other things. These Indians did eate no Beefe, as we were informed of them.

The Conquest

¶ How the King of Mylynde visited the Captaine
generall, and made peace with him, giuing him a
Pilot to carry him to Calycut. Cap. 12.


¶ He lass day of the eight after Easter, dinner
being done, the King of Mylynde came in
a great boate hard to our Fleet, apparellled
in a Cassocke of Crimson Damaske, lined
with greene satten, hauing upon his head a
rich towell. He was sitting in a chaire, such
as was vsed in olde time, very well made and wrought
with wire, being in sight very faire, and in the same was
a cushion of silke, and another like vnto that hard by him,
which was couered with a hat of Crimson satten. There
stood hard by him as his Page, an olde man, who carried a
very rich swerd, the scaberd wherof was silver: he brought
with him manye shagbutts, and two flutes of Iuozie,
which were eight spans of length each of them; they were
very well wrought, and vpon the same they played by a
little hole that is in the midle thereof, agreeing and accor-
ding well with the shagbutts. There came with the King,
about the number of twentie Mores Gentlemen all richly
apparelled. The King now being come neere to the ships,
the Captaine generall came forth to mete him in his boat
well trimmed and set out with all his flagges, and he him-
selfe comely arayed, withall his best apparell, carrieng with
him twelue of the most principall men of his shippes, his
brother onely except, whom he left with charge of the same.
The boates of each part being come neere together, and the
one making countenance of friendly salutation & entertain-
ment to the other, the King then said to the Generall, that
he would speake with him in his owne boat, of purpose to
see & view him the better, wherupon forthwith he received
him into his boat, the King then giuing to the Generall as
great honour & curtesie as though he had also ben a King:
he very earnestly noted & beheld him & his men, as a strange
sight and matter to him and his people: he required the Ge-
nerall to tell him the name of his King, and being tolde, he
com-

The mee-
ting of
the king
of Mylynde
and the
Captaine
generall.

of the East India.

commaunded the same to be then presently written: he al-
so inquired matter particularly of him, & of his power, wher-
vnto the Generall aunswered, and in every point satisfied
his demand, declaring also for what cause y king his mas-
ter had sent him to discouer Calicut, which was to haue
from thence spices, wherof in his dominion & country was
none. And after he had thus talked with the King & infor-
med him somewhat of the same & of the straights of y red
Sea, the King then promised to him a Pilot to carry him to
Calicut, & also very earnestly desired him to goe with him
into his Citie, there to take his pleasure, & solace himself in
his Pallacie, saing it was needfull & necessary, after so ma-
ny troubles, in so long a voyage sustained, to use some re-
creation, and take some rest: further then promising, that if
he would so do, that afterward he in like manner would go
with him to see his ships, & make merry in the same, wher-
vnto the Generall aunswered, that he had no license of the
King his Master to go a shore, & therefore if he shuld varie
from his Princes wil & commaundement therein, he shuld
then give an euill accoount of himselfe, to which excuse the
King replied, saing, that if he shuld go to see his ships, what
accoount shoulde he then make to those of his Citie, or what
micht they deeme & adiudge of him therein: yet notwithstanding
he said, y it was a grieve to him y he refused to go
with him to his Citie, which was & shuld be at y comman-
demt of him & of y king his master, to whom he wold send
his Embassadour or els write, if he wold come y way at his
returne from Calicut. The General yelding thanks to the
King, promised him to returne y way, & whilst they were
thus talking there, did send for those Mores, which he had
taken captiues, and gaue them to the King, saing that if
he could do him any further pleasure, he wold gladly doe
the same: with which gift the King was so content, that he
said, he did more esteeme of the same, then if he had giuen
him such another Citie as that of Mylynde was.

Now hauing ended their talke and confirmed the friendship
betwene them, the King then rowing amongst our ships,

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and behelde the same, with great pleasure and admiration, out of which great stoe of shot of Ordinaunce passed, wherewith they were greatye delyghted, all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he never saw any men of whom he tooke so great pleasure, as he did of those of Portingall, whereof he woulde gladye haue some with him, to helpe him in his warres, which he hath sometime with his enimies: for it well appeared they were men apt to offend their enimie, and to abide and suffer any trauell or paine, that should happen vnto them. To which his speches the Generall aunswere, that if hee had experiance of their doings, he woulde then a great deale better lyke of them, and further that they would helpe him, if the King his Master woulde sende his shippes of warre to Calicut, as he doubted not but he woulde, if it wer Gods god pleasure to permit the same to be discouered. After the King had in this sort solaced himselfe, he then desired the General, that since he would not go with him to his Citie, he shuld then let him haue two of his men to go and see his Wallace, and for pledge of the same, he woulde gue him his sonne, and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call Cacis, whereunto the Generall yelded and appointed two of our men to go with the King, who at his departure, requested the Generall that the next day he woulde goe along in his boate hard by the shooare, where he shuld see his horsmen running, & so they departed for that time, the next day being Thursday, the Captaine generall & Nicholas Coello, went in their boates armed along the shooare, the one somewhat distant from the other, betweene whom vpon the shooare were many men on horsebacke skirmishing, & as our boates apporched neare the shooare, there came certaine scotenes downe certaine staires of stone from the Kings house, which was in sight, where they tooke the King vp in a chaire, and carried him verie merte to the boate of the Generall, to whom he spake verye louing wordes, and once more requested him to enter vpon land, and go to his Citie, for that his father being a layne man, was desirous to see him, and that

of the East India.

that whilste he shoulde remaine on shooare, both he and his children would enter and abide in his shippes. But our Generall, fearing least vnder such sugred speach some bitter baite might lie couered, did therfore still excuse himselfe for going on land, alleadging hee must obey his Prince, who gave him no license or commission so to do at anie time. And so taking his leaue of the king, hee went a while hard by the shippes of the Indias, shooting off much Ordinaunce, who when they sawe vs passe by lifted vp their hands, saying: Christe, Christe, and that night with the kings license our men made them a great feast, with much pastime also of Squibs, Gunne shot, and great and loude cryes. The Fleet thus lyeng in y harbour, there came vpon y sandaie beeing the 21. day of Apyll, from the king, a man that was in great credit with him, to visite the Captaine Generall, who at that instant was very sad and heauie: for that it was then two daies since any man came to the Fleet from the Citie, by reason wherof he feared least that the king were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on shooare, supposing also that he wold therevpon, bzeake the peace and league made betwene them, for which he was sorrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots. And when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king, did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie, and suspition of the king, who being informed therof, and knowing the Generall remai ned there for that cause, did therfore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile (called in their language Golarate) whose name was Canaca, making excuse that hee had not sent him sooner, and so the king and the Generall remained friends, and continued the peace before concluded vpon betwene them.

¶ How the Captaine Generall departed from Mylynde, came to Calicut, and of what greatnesse and noblenesse that citie is. Cap. 13.

The Generall woulde not consent to go on land at Mylynde



They wer
23. dayes,
& save
no lād af-
ter theyr
departure
from
Mylynde.

HE Captaine Generall beynge thus pro-
uied of all things necessarie for his voy-
age, departed from Mylynde towards Ca-
licut vpon the Tewliday, being the 22. day
of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut
ouer a goulfe, which is of seauen hundreth
and fiftie leagues, for the land there doth make a certeine
great valle, which doth runne along the coast from the
North to the South, and our voyage in demanding of Ca-
licut, lay to the Eastward, in following whereof the next
Sunday our men salwe the North, which a long time be-
fore they had seene, and also they salwe the South, of
which god fortune they thanked God, in that it repre-
sented as then to them winter of the Indias, & where alwaies
in that goulfe are great stormes, they nō found none, but
rather faire weather: The Fridaye being the xvii. daye of
May, and xxii. daies next after their departing from My-
lynde (in which time they had seene no land) they then dis-
couered & came to sight of land. And the Fleete being viii.
leagues of seabord from the shoare: the land seemed high:
their Pilot whose name was Canaca, did as then let fall
the plommet, & found foytie fwe fathom, wherupon to a-
uioide and apart himselfe from that coast, he made his way
to the Southeast, & vpon the Saterday he made to land-
ward, howbeit he ranne not so neare the same as he might
certainly knowe it, but he perceived by small showres of
raine, which fell as they made towards land, y they were
on the coast of y Indias, for y at y present time of y yere,
y winter is euer in thos Indias. The sunday, being y xx. day
of May the Pilot salwe certeine high hils, which were ouer
the Cittie of Calicut, and came so neare to land, that he did
reknowlede the same, and with great joy and pleasure, de-
maunded of the Generall Albrycias, saing that this was
the land, which he and his companie so greatly desired to
see, and come to. The General replenished with joy of that
god fortune, gaue Canaca his demaund, & forthwith went
to prauer, saing the Salue, wherein they gaue God greate
thanks,

Thanks, for this their happy and safe arriuall vpon that
coast, and in sight of the place, which they so earnestly lon-
ged for to see, when prauer was done they made great ioy,
and feasted on shipbord, and the selue same daie in the eue-
ning, the Generall came to an Ankor two leagues from
Calicut, and immediatly came certeine people of that land
in foyre boates called Almaydys, to our Fleete, to un-
derstand what shys these were, hauing never before seene
any of that making, come to that coast: These people came
all naked, saing that their members were couered, with
little pieces of linnen cloath: they are browne people. At
their comming to vs some of them entered into the Ge-
nerallis shippe, and albeit the Pilot Gose rate, tolde him that
they were Fishermen, a poore kinde of people (for so they
call all such as bee poore men in the Indias) yet he recey-
ued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye of
their shys, which they brought with them: And hauing
some talke with them, he did vnderstand that, that towne
was not Calicut, for it was they said further off, & offered
to carrie our Fleete therethen: Wherevpon the Generall re-
quired them so to doe, and therewith departed thence, and
were brought by those Fishermen to Calicut, which is a
Cittie situated on the Coast of Malabar, which is a Pro-
uince of the second Indias, that hath his beginning in the
Mount Dely, and endeth at the end of Comory, which is
in length threescore leagues and one, and fiftene in
breadth: All the Countrie lyeth lowe, and is apt to be
couered with water: Ther be many Ilandes in the same, &
it doth enter into the Sea Indico: Ther is a verie high
hill which diuideth the limits betwene them, and a great
kingdome called Narsinga: The Indians do report that this
land of Malabar in olde time was maine Sea, and ran as
far as y hill where now the Ilandes of Maldiuia are, which
were then firme land, & did couer & discouer y other of Ma-
labar, in which are many and pleasaunt Citties, & thos also
very rich, by reson of y trade they haue principally with thē
of Calicut, which in riches & vice doth excel al in our time,
whose

The Fleet
arriueth
at Calicut
& the ma-
ner of the
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whose foundation was on this sort : This Province of Malabar was in the olde time governed altogether by one king, who made his abode in the Citie of Conlan, and in the last kings daies of this land (whose name was Saranaperim, and died sixe hundred yeares agone) the Moores of Meca discouered the Indias, and came to the Province of Malabar, the inhabitants wherof then were Gentiles, and the king himselfe was a Gentile : From the time of the comming of these Moores, they beganne to account, the yeares as we account, from the birth of our Lord God: And after they came thether, they grew into such familiaritie with this king, and hee entered into such conference & god opinion of their lawes, that he renounced the manner of religion of his owne Countrie, and minded thence forth to imbrace theirs, and the loue and liking he had of this sort of Mahomet so dæpely toke roote, and entered into his heart, that he determined to goe and ende his lyfe, in the house of Meca : Thus beeing resolued, for the loue he bare to that sort, to abandon and leaue his kingdome for euer, and goe with them, before his departure he imparted to his kinred, and diuided amoungst them all his Lordships, and territories, and having distributed and givene the same so farre forth, that there remained to him no more but ri. leagues of his Countrie, which laye neare to the shoare, where he meant to imbarke himselfe, the which was never before inhabited, & therfore he then gaue the same to a cousin of his, which then serued him as his Page: commaundering the same circuit shold be inhabited in perpetuall memo-
rie, of his imbarkeing there : To the same his kinsman hee also gaue his sword, & a towell after the Morisco sort, as things apperteining and incident to the estate, & gaue com-
maundement to all the Gentlemen to whom he had givene all the rest of his lands, that they shold be obedient & true subiects vnto him, and to take him for theyr Emperour, (the kings of Conlan and Canamor onely except) whome also he commaundered and charged, & likewise al the others, that they nor no other Lordes shoulde coine money in the pro-

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Province of Malabar, but onely the King of Calycut. So hauing thus bestowed and giuen his lands, possessions and dignities, as he thought god, and set every necessary thing in order, for establishing his determinate will and pleasure, he then imbarked himselfe there, wher now Calicut is builded and situated, and for that the King did there imbarke himselfe to go towards the house of Meca, the Moores then tooke such devotion towards that place, that they and all their posteritie euer since that time hetherto would not, nor yet will take any lading but out of that Port. And from that time afterward, they came no moe to the Port of Coulan, as vsually they did before, by meane and occasion whereof, the same grew to ruine, and was destroyed, especially when Calicut was once builded, and that many Moores came and inhabited the same. For as they were Merchants of great dealings, so came they thether, and made there the greatest and richest Faire or Marte of all the Indias, finding there all the Spices, Drugs, Putinegs, and all other things that could be wished, as all kindes of precious stones, pearles, & stede of pearle, Muske, Saunders, Aguila, fine Dishes of Laker is a
kind of
gum that
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earth, Laker, gylded Coskers, and all the fine things of the Chyna, Gold, Amber, Ware, Juorie, fine and course cotton, as well white as dyed in colours, much rawe silke, & silke twisted, and all kinde of linnen cloth of silke, and golde, and cloth of golde, and cloth of tissew, chamlets, graine, scarlets, carpets of silke, Copper, Quicksiluer, Vermilion, Allome, coralls, Rose waters, and all kinde of Conseruies, so that ther is no kinde of Merchandise of all the world, which coulde be demaundered, but it shold be found there. Moreouer, it was very quiet, for that it was situated along the Coast, the which lieth almost open, and very daungerous : it is environed & set round about with many Orchards, in which are many sortes of fruits of that lande, and many hearebes, and excellent waters. Also they haue many Palme trees, and other sortes of trees. In this lande there is but small stoe of Rice, which is ther a principall victuall, as amongst vs our Wheate is, but there commeth from other places great

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great abundance thereof, as in like manner there doeth of other victuals. The Citie is great, and all the houses be of straw, (only the houses of their Idolls, Chappels, and the Kings houses except) which are of lyme and stony, and covered with tyle, for none but they are permitted by they lawes to haue anye other manner of building then with strawe. It was inhabited by Gentiles of sundry sects, and by Moors which were great Merchants, and so rich, that some of them had fiftie shippes. There is no such season of winter, but that there may lye in that Harbour sixe hundred shippes. They haue there a shooe whether they do carry them with small traualle, for that they be made without nailes, solwed with ropes of Cayro, and pitched vpon, they haue no quell, but are flat bottomed.

¶ Of what great power the King of Calicut is, and of his vse and custome: likewise of the other Kings of Malabar, and how the Nayres do live.
Chapter. 14.


¶ Of that this Citie was of so great a trade, and also the Countrey round about, so inhabited, which increased so largelie the Kings rents, it came to passe, that he grew to be so rich of money, and so mighty in power by multitude of people, that in one daye he was able to leauie and make in a readinesse thirtie thousand fighting men, and in thre dayes space, one hundred thousand. They called him Samoryn, which in they tongue is Emperour, for so he was among the Kings of Malabar, and there were no more but two beside him: that is to say the King of Coulan and the King of Canauor: For albeit the others were called Kings, yet were they not so.

This

of the East Indis.

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This King of Calicut was a Bramene, as others his Predecessours also were, which amangst the Malabars are Priests, and for that it is a custome and ancient order obserued, that all the Kings doe dye in one Pagode, which is the house of praiers to their Idolls, he is elected for that cause, for alwayes in the same house there must be and is, a King to serue those Idolles, and when he that serueth there doeth dye, then must the King that then rayneth and gouerneth, leauie his Empire, and goe serue in that place as the other did, and into his place and Kingdome, they elect and put an other, that shall so succede him.

And if anye of them that is in possession of the Kingdome, refuse to goe into the Pagode, (the King that then serueth in the same beeing dead) they will then inforce him thereto which so refuseth, although it be against his will. These Kings of Malabar be browne men, and goe naked from the gyrdell vppwarde, and from thence downewarde, they be couered with cloath of silke and of Cotten: sometime they put vpon them shorle gownes, which they doe call Basus of silke or cloath of golde, and of scarlet with very rich stones: and especiallye the King of Calicut excelleth in those attires and Jewells. They be shauen, leauing vpon the upper lip as the Turkes vse, the hayze unshauen. They be serued but with small estate, especiallye at theyre meate, whereof they haue but lytle: But the King of Calicut is serued, with greater Estate.

These Kings doe not marrie, nor obserue the Lawe of marriage, but yet they may haue a Lemman of the house of the Nayres, which amongst the Malabars are Gentlemen, and shae hath her house by her selfe, neere to the Pallacie. They doe allowe her so lyberallye for her charges and maintenaunce, that she may haue plentifullie of all thinges to her contentation, vpon that Stypende assigned byz.

And when any disliking is had of her by them, they may always

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alwayses leaue hir and such childdren as they haue by hir, be not taken or accompted for theyz, neither doe they inherite the Kingdome, nor anye thing of theyz.

After they be men, they are had in no more estimation, then that is incident vnto them from the mothers bloud and parentage. Their brothers doe inherite if they haue any, if not, then their sisters childdren shall, who doe not marry, neither yet haue any certaintie of their husbands. They bee very free and at libertie, to choose those of whom they lyke, and be such as are best esteemed of. They haue verye great rents allowed them: and when anye of them come to the age of ten yeares, (for at that time they are to be knownen of men) their kinred then doe sende forth out of this kingdome, for a young man Nayre, and presenting him with gifts, earnestly request the same to take hir virginitie, who then receiueth hir with great ioy, and after she is thus vsed, doth tye about hir necke a Jewell, which she doth carry and weare alwayes during hir life, as a thing in great estimation, & for a token of the libertie giuen hir by that act, to do with hir bodie afterward for ever, what she will: for without this manner of ceremonie, they may not know any man. These Kings sometimes haue warres one with another, & they in their owne persons goe into the fieldes, yea, and if need so require, they also fight: when they die, they be carried out from their pallacie into a plain field, wher they be burned with great quanttie of wood of sanders & a swet wood called Aguila. At this burning are alwayes present all his brothers, & nearest kinred, and al the noble men of the countray. And they make staye of hir from burning after his death three daies, that they all may repaire thereto & come together, to see and viewe whether he came to his death naturallie, or whether he were killed: for if he dyed by force of anye mans hande, then are they bounde to take revenge thereof.

After hir is burned, and all the ashes buried, they doe all haue themselves without leaving any hayze, yea, even of the least childe that is a Gentile.

All

of the East India.

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All of them in generall doe then cease from eating of Betel, during the space of thirteene daies, and he that doth eate the same infringeth their law, and therefore they wil cut his lips, and that by justice: In all this time, the prince which shall succeed doth not command nor governe, which is done of purpose, to see whether in that time anye man will come to saie or object any thing against him. These things and daies, thus done and past, the noble men of the Countrie doe cause him to bee sworne, to all those lawes & customs, which were made by his predecessor, and to pay all his debts: Also that he shall trauaile to recouer what soever things of his kingdome before were lost: This oath he taketh haing his sworde in his leste hande, and in the right hande a Candle burning, whiche hath a ring of golde vpon it, which he toucheth with two of his fingers, and so taketh his oath. This being done, they thowre or powre vpon him a few graines of Rice, with many such other ceremonies, in doing whereof they say many prayers, and he worshippeth then the Sunne, thre times, which so done, the Caymacles, that be Lords by parentage doe immediatly holding the selfe same Candle, swaere to be true subiects vnto him.

The thirteene daies beeing ended, they all then doe eate Betel againe, and flesh and fish as before, the king onely except, who then taketh thought and sorroweth for the death of his predecessor: whose manner of mourning is thus: He must not by the space of one whole yeaer, eate any flesh or fish, or yet Betel, neither must he haue his beard, nor cut his nailes, nor eate but once in a daie, and must wash himselfe all his bodie ouer, before he doe eate, and praine certeine houres in the daye: After the yeaer is past and ended, he then vseth a certeine ceremonie for the soule of the king his predecessor, which is much like to our Dirge, wherat are assembled an hundred thousand persons, at which time he giueth great almes, when this ceremonie is finished, they then confirme the Prince for inheritor of the kingdome, and so all the people do depart.

Dr. iii.

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The king of Calicut and all the other kings of Malabar, haue one especiall man that hath the charge for administration of justice, and doth command & is obeyed in all other matters of governement as amplie as the king himselfe. The men of warre which the king of Calicut & the other kings haue, are Nayres, which be all Gentlemen, and are appointed to no other office or affaires, but to fight when neede requireth. They be all Gentiles, and carrie their armour wherewith they fight themselues, which is bowes, arrowes, spares, daggers made like a hooke, and targets, and march with them very honourably and gallantly, but they goe naked, carrieng onely certeine linnen cloth of cotton painted, with the which they couer themselues from the girdle to the knee, they are bare footed: and weare vpon their heads certeine towels. They all live by the king, and by the noblemen of the countrie, of whome they haue ordinarie stipends and allowance for their maintenaunce: They doe so greatly esteeme and make account of theyz gentrie, and of their cleantiness, that they will not touch any husbandman, neither permit any of them to come into their houses. The husbandmen are bound when they goe in the straetes to crie with a lownde boyce, and saye, Hoo they goe, for if these Gentlemen doe come, and bid them goe out of the way, and they doe not obey their commandement therein: then may they kill them: The king cannot make Gentlemen, except they be of the stocke of Gentlemen. They serue very well and faithfully, with them of whome they haue their interteiment, and vnder whose obeyaunce they liue, not sparing by night nor daie, anye opportunitie of time for shewe of their best iudeauour in seruice of the same, nor making anye account of meat or of theyz person or of sleepe, whensoeuer their travell or v diligencie, may take effect or purpose of well doing. They haue so small charge and occasion of expence, that with halfe a crowne a peice (which is their ordinarie allowance for one moneth) they may very well and sufficiently, maintaine themselues, and each of them a boye to serue him.

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The Nayres by the law of the country, cannot marry, and for that cause they haue no children certain, but those which they haue are begotten of Lemmans, with which thre or fowre of them do lie, by accord & agreement had and determined amongst themselves, haing one woman onely to serue that purpose, vntesse any cause or quarrell grove amongst them, and everye one of them shall be with her a whole daie, accompting from the one halfe of the daye present wherein he commeth, to the other halfe of the day next following, at which time he departeth from her, and then commeth another, who continueth the lyke time: Thus they passe ouer and spend their life time without care and trouble of wife and children: They maintaine their lemmans verie well according to their degress and birth. And if any of them will at any time leauue and for sake her, they may at their pleasure doe it, and likewise she maye refuse anye of them at her will. These women are all Gentlewomen for the Nayres maye not take anye Countrie women, and they also doe not marrie: And for that there bee so many men to one woman, they take not them for theyz children which bee begotten of her, although the same bee lyke unto them: and therefore theyz brothers children, doe iherit their lands, and haue their gods: This lawe that these Gentlemen shoulde not marrie, the king ordeneid and made, for that they haue no wives nor children, on whom they should haue care and fise their loue, might the better indure the warres, and liue at moxe libertie to serue in the same.

And because they are Gentlemen, and that they shoulde be the moxe animated and incouraged to liue in that order, and to serue well, they be so pruiledged, that none of them can be imprisoned for any cause, nor vs put to death by any meane of ordinarie justice: Howbeit when one of them doth kill another, or else doth kill a Cowe, (which amongst them is taken for a greate sinne, for that they worshipe them) or sleepe or eate with a countrie woman, or speake euill of the king.

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Then will the king, hauing true information of any of these offences, giue out his warrant in writing vnder his owne hand, directed to one Nayre, commanding him therby, that he with two or thre other, doe forthwith kill the Nayre, that hath so offended and sinned contrarie to the Law: By vertue of which warrant, they hew and cut him with their swords, wheresoeuer they doe finde him, and when he is dead, they hang vpon him the kings writing, to the end that all men may know and vnderstand wheresoever they killed him: These Nayres cannot take their weapons, nor enter into any combat, before they be armed knights: when they atteine to the age of seauen yeares, they bee forthwith set to learne to play at all weapons, & to the ende they shold bee very perfect, their Maisters doe hale and wrest the ioyntes of their armes, and afterward they teache them their fence such as bee apt for the same: The weaponnes that are most vsed amongst them be Swords and Targets.

The Maisters which teach them, be graduats in the weapons which they teach, and they bee called in their language Panycaes. They be reuerenced amongst the Nayres, & every scholler of theirs whatsoeuer, although he be olde, or if he be a great noble man, shall at all times when he seeth him, doe to him reuerence and worship, and this by lawe isordeined: and further all of them are bound to take at their hands a lesson two monthes in every yeare, during theyr liues: By reason wheresof they be very perfect and skilful in theyr weapons, and for that cause they greatly esteeme of themselues.

When any of them will be an armed knight, he then goeth well accompanied with all his kinred and friends, & presenteth himselfe before the king, to whome he first offereth threescore Fannons of golde, which is a certeine kinde of money amounting to the value of thre crownes. Wherupon the king doth immediatly aske him, whether he will keepe and obserue the order and custome of the Nayres: Whereunto he aunswereþ and saith, yea. Then he commaundeth to put about him a sworde, and laieng his right hand

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hand vpon his head, saith certeine wordes as though he wold pray ouer him, which he uttereth so softly, as none can heare the same. Afterward he imbraceth him, saing in his language these wordes folowing, which in our tongue doth signifie or meane: Haue a regard to keepe these Brameres and their Kine. This being done, the Nayre doth fall down and worship the King, and from thence forth he remaineth made Knight. These Nayres when they yelde themselues to liue and serue any King or Noble man, they binde themselues to dye with him, and for him: which bond they doe so well obserue and inviolably keepe, that if their Master in any warre or otherwise be slaine, they will fight vntill they are killed, which hath done the same acte, and if at that instant they cannot accomplish their wills, for that they were not present at the dede doing, then will they goe afterward and seeke them out, and neuer leaue them till they be killed by some manner of deuise. They be great southsayers, they haue god dayes and bad dayes, they worship the Sun, the Moone, the fire, and the Kine, and the first that they do meet in going forth of their house in the morning: they doe easilly beleue whatsoeuer vanitie. The Diuell is oftentimes in them, but they say it is one of their Gods or Pagodes, for so they call him: but whosoever or whatsoeuer it be, it inforzecheth them to utter terrible wordes & speaches, which the King doth beleue. And the Nayre in whome the Diuell is so entred, goeth with a naked sworde before the King, altogether quaking & trembling, giuing himselfe cuts & wounds laieng, I am such a God, and I am come to tell thee such a thing, & in this manner he vseth himselfe, crieng out lyke a mad man: and if the King make any doubt of that he saith & doth not presently giue credite to his speache, then doth he rose & send forth greater cryes & giue himselfe greater cuts, vntill such time the King doe beleue him. There be other lineages of people of y Malabars, which are of divers sets & customes, wheresof to speake were ouer tedious, & too long to declare: all which doe obay those Kings, (the Moores onely except) which by reason of the great customes they

their god
or the di-
uell is ma-
ny times
in them.

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paye for their Merchandise, are in great estimation among them.

¶ How the Captaine generall sent one of his banished men to Calycut, and how a Moore of Tunis came and spake with him, by whose meane he sent a messenger to the King of Calycut, and how he returned answere to the Generall, cap. 15.



¶ The Captaine generall being come to an Ankoz without the Barre or Recife of Calycut, he sent one of his banished men in the selfe same Almaydes or boats which they brought thether, for two respects: the one to see what Countrey it was: the other to make tryall how we should be received, because we wer Christians, belieuing also y the people there wer christened: & when this banished man was landed, ther came immediatly a great number of people to see him as a stranger: they asked of the Malabars which went with him, what he was: Who aunswered, that they daimed him to be a Moore, and that he came with those which are in the thre shippes they doe see without the Barre at Ankoz. Whereof they of Calycut greatly meruailed, for that his apparrell was far different from that which the Moors y come from y Straights, dor vle to weare. Thus flocked about him much people, & some that had the Algarauia tongue, spake unto him, but he having no vnderstanding thereof could not noz did make any aunswere or speaches unto them, at which also they in like manner greatly meruailed, for that being a Moore (as they daimed) he did not understand the Algarauia language: Neverthelesse going with him in this manner, and verelpe yet belieuing he was a Moore, they caried him to the house of two Moors, which were naturally borne in Tunys in Barbarie, and were then come to dwell in Calicut. To whom being brought, one of them whose name was Bontaybo could speake the Spanish tongue, & did well knowe

Bontaybo
a More of
Barbarie,
dwelling
in Calicut

the

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the Portingals as he said afterward, hauing seene them in Tunys in the time of y King Don Ioan in the shipp called Lareyna which the same King sent thether manye times to seeke for such things as he and his subiects hadde made of. And as soone as the banished man was entered into their house, the Moore spake unto him and sayd: I give thee to the Diuell, who brought thee thether, which words was uttered in y Spanish tongue. And after he as ked him what way he had gone and traunaled, that he was come to this place: wherevnto the banished man aunswere & told him, shewing also, how many shippes the Generall had ther, wherat Bontaybo meruailed, and wondred how they could come by Sea thether. Then he as ked him what they sought so farre off: And he aunswere that they came to seeke Christians and splices. Moreouer Bontaybo as ked why y Kings of Fraunce and Spaine, & the Duke of Venice did not also sende thether: Whereunto the banished man made aunswere, that y King of Portingale would not give his consent they shold so doe: Bontaybo replieng thereto, sayde, that he did well & wisely therein. Thus having talked a while, he gaue him very god entertainment, and commaunded to giv him certaine Cakes, made of the flower of Tulheate, which the Malabars do call Apes, and with the same honnie. After he had well eaten, Bontaybo aduised him to go to the shippes, & said he would goe with him, (as indeede he did) to see y Captaine generall. And being come to the Admirall which was then entered, Bontaybo then began to say to the General in Spanish: God lucke, god lucke, many Rubies, many Cimraulds: thou art bound to giv great thankes to God, for that he hath brought the wher there is all kinde and soys of splices, stones, and all the riches of the wold.

When they hearde him so sayc, they all meruayled greatly therat, for they before wouide not haue belieued, that there hadde beeene anye man so farre off from Portingale, that coulde vnderstande theyr language.

Wherefore with weeping teares which they then plentifully

L.ij.

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ly shed for ioye and pleasure they had conceived , as well for the same, as also for their safe and happie arriuall there, they then gaue to God most humble and heartie thankes throught whose onely fauour, god will, and pleasure , that god lucke and great god benefite, had happened to them . And then the Generall imbraced Bontaybo, and caused him to sit downe by him, asking him if he were a Christian, and how he came to Calicut ? For auns were whereto þ More told him of whence he was, and what he was, and how he came to Calicut by the way of Cayro, also he shewed him by what meanes he came to knowledge of Portingal's, and that alwaies he had bene a friend to them , for that in all respects & at all times, their doings & manners appeared to him to be god and worthy of friendship. Finally he sayde, that as he had in time past bene a friend to them , so would he now at this present continue his god will, and was ready and would be to doe all that in him was to pleasure & further them, and the effect of their purpose in comming the- ther. The Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, and promised to recompence him very liberally in respect of that his god will, and for any pleasure or friendship he shoulde thenceforth shew to him and his company, he shuld be wel assured to be thankfully considered of. Declaring also that he was the most ioyfull man of all the wold to finde him there, and to haue him for a friend and an ayde, verely belie- uing that God had sent him thether, to give an ende to the enterpise of the voyage, which he so desired in discouering of thole Indias, and had entered into, and passed through so many daungers by long tract of time to attaine unto the same, and now notwithstanding his arrial ther, he thought to haue but small fruite of his traualle, without his helpe & friendly furtheraunce.

Then he requested him to declare , what manner of man the King of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receive him with god wil as an Embassadour from the King of Portingale.

Bontaybo auns were, that the King of Calicut , was

was a very god man and of an honourable disposition, and that he no doubt would receiue him gladly, for Embassa-
dour, from a straunge king, especially if his comming were to settle and intreate for establishment of tract or trade of merchaundise in Calicut, and had brought with him anye kinde of Merchaundise for that purpose: For (said Bontaybo) as there doth grow great aduaantage and profit by cu-
stome thereof to the king, so is the same indeede the verye principall rents or reuenewes he hath for his maintey-
naunce : Moreouer he informed the Generall that the king at that instant was in a certaine village fwe leagues from Calicut, stciuated along the coast, named Panane, whether he aduised him to send unto him, & to declare of his arri-
uall and comming thether. The Generall very well liking of the speaches and aduise of Bontaybo, did therefore giue unto him certeine gifts, and sent with him two of his men in message to the king of Calicut , requesting Bontaybo to direct them on their waye to Panane, whiche he accor-
dingly did. These messengers being nowe come before the king, one of them whose name was Fernan Martyn, by an interpetour which he had declared unto him, that he came from his Captaine who is arrived in the port of Calicut Certeine messengers sent by þ Captaine generall to þ king of Calicut with certeine shippes, and is come thether from the king of Portingale, of purpose to bring him letters, which the same Captaine is readie to come and present vnto him , if it so stode with his god liking and pleasure , whereof to understand he then had sent him, and his fel- lowe there present. The king hearing this message , com- maunded before he would make auns were thereto, to giue to each of them a certeine peice of linnen cloth made of Cotten, and two of silke whith were very god, and euen such wherewith he was accustomed to girdle himselfe : And after these peices were so giuen them, he then deman- ded of Fernan Martyn , what king that was which hadde sent him those letters, and how farre from thence his king- dome was, wher unto Fernan auns wered and fully infor- med him touching that demand, declaring also that he was

a Christian prince, & that all those whom he had sent were christians, hauing past many troubles and daungers vpon the sea, before their arriuall there at Calicut. The king hearing all the discourse of their voyage (wherof Fernan Martynes somewhat at large informed him) did greatly maruell at the same, & shewed himselfe to be right glad, y a Prince of so great a power as the king of Portingale was, & being also a christian, would send an Ambassadour to him: And therefore he sent word to the Generall that he and his companie were hartelye welcome into his Countrie, requiring him to bring his ships to an ankor nere, to a village named Pandarane (whitch is somewhat beneath the place where they first came to an ankor) being a far better harbour then that of Calicot, which is an open roade & very dangerous for the ships: And appointed that from thence, the General shuld go by land to Calicut, wher he wold be to speake with him: And therw^o he sent a Pilot, who conuaied the ships to the port of the same village, howbeit when he had conducted them to the bar thereof, the Generall woulde not enter so far within the same, as y Pilot would gladly haue had him to haue done, fearing indeed that some thing might afterward happen to his prejudice, if he shuld give ouer farre credit to those people, & came within the compasse of anye their forces, wherin he dealt very aduisedly and wisely, prevented such iniury as was offered him.

How the king of Calicut sent for the Captaine Generall and after what sort he was carried to Calicut, Cap. 16.


He Captaine being come nere to this harbour, his dispatch was sent him from y Ca-
tuaull of Calicut, in y which there was sig-
nified y he was come to Pandarane, by the
kings commandement, with other noble
men, for to beare him company vnto Cali-
cut, and therefore he might at all times when y it should
please

please him, disimbarke himselfe: But for y the day was past y Captaine General excused himselfe as at y present, & also y he would first take counsell of his Captaines, & other the principall of his Fleet, touching his landing, who being all ioyned together, said vnto them, y he minded to go to see y king of Calicut, & to settle there a trace, and a perpetuall friendship. Against the which his going, his brother repugned, alleadging y it was not conuenient y he shuld so doe. For albeit y they were christians, yet y ther were amongst them many Moors, which were to be feared least thy wold procure his destruction, since that they were his mortall enimies. For when that they doe remember how thole of Monsambicke and Mombassa, for onely passing by theyr ports, would haue killed them all: What shold they looke for, of thole of Calicut, knowing that they will mixture themselves with you & yours: quoth he, you seeking to haue the trace where they haue the same, & so to diminish this their profit and gaine: He tolde him therefore that it is the sooner to be beleued, that they wold procure with all their force possible to destroy him, yea, although they knew that the beginning and end of the same did depend vpon his death, and that therefore there woulde not lacke wayes to put the same deuice in execution, who being once dead, for all the grieve the king shoulde take therewith, yet he could not raise him againe to lyfe. And that so much the more they beeing as it were naturall inhabitauntes there, and he a mere straunger.

Moreover who doth know what the king doth passe for his death, and what shall become of them all after the same is procured. And if so be that they shuld be cast away aliogether, then were all theyr traualle lost. To excuse all this, and that they might remaine vpon this god assuraunce, it were very god sayd he, that he did not geue a shoare, but that he did sente one of them, or some other, who might doe that which he shoulde doe, for those that are Captaines in especiallye Generalls shoulde not aduenture themselves in such daungers, but where there were such

Moores
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ans

Princes &
Generalls
ought to
be careful
of their
persons in
respect of
their
place and
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such great necessitie, that they coulde not otherwize excuse themselves. Of this minde were all the rest of the compa-
nie, vnto whome the Captaine Generall aunswere, that
although he knew or did vnderstand y by his comming it
were present death vnto him, yet he woulde not let but gos
and visit the King of Calicut, and the rather to see whether
he woulde settle a friendship and trade there, and to haue
out of his Citie, Spices and other commodities, for that
the same (at our arriuall in Portingale) might represent as
a witnesse the discouerie of Calicut. For if so be that at
the end of so long a time God did returne vs theretherto with-
out: then said he, it woulde be hard to be beleued that we
had discouered Calicut: And our credit and honour woulde
stand in suspence or ballance, vntill such time there shoulde
come persons of credit from thence, that shoulde declare
that to bee true which we had affirmed. Wherefore doe you
not thinke but y I had rather die then suffer so long time,
as we haue spent, and are lyke to spend, and others shall
come to discouer y truth of our seruice: so that in the meane
whyle, those that are envious, shoulde iudge our trauaile as
it shuld please them, certeinly I had rather die then to tar-
rie vpon the same: Much moze friends I doe not aduen-
ture my selfe to so great a daunger of death as you do sur-
mise, neither yet that they shoulde remaine in so great dan-
ger, as you doe presuppose, for I goe to a Countrie where
there are Christians and to talke with a king, which is de-
sirous that vnto his Citie shoulde come many Merchants,
for the profit that doth arise thereby vnto him: for the
more Merchants that do resoxt vnto it, the more wil be his
profit. I doe not goe theretherto stay there many daies that
the Mores shal haue any such time to vse any treason a-
gainst me. And for so much as I doe minde to talke with
the king it shall haue an end, and that within thre dayes,
and in this time you may be in a readinesse: And as touch-
ing the honour and credit that I shall get by making or
establisshing this trade, if it please God that he doe accept
the same I will not gaine it for any treasure. And the king
can

can settle the same with no other better then with me, for
that he will esteeme me, and haire some reverence towards
me, being once knownen vnto him that I am the Captaine
general of this Fleete, and the King of Portingales Em-
bassadour, rather then with any other person whatsoeuer.
Furthermore whosoever he be that shall goe in my stede,
the King will thinke himselfe to be mockt, or that I do not
esteeme him, as one that is worthy that I shoulde goe to
speake with him, or els that I doe not trust him on his
word. Besides all this, I cannot giue so large instructions
to him that I shoulde send theretherto, that he might doe in all
things which is needfull as much as I my selfe: and if so
be that for my sinnes he shoulde kill me, or take me as a
prisoner, it were a great deale better for me that ther shuld
chaunce to me all this for doing of my dutie, then to re-
maine alyue, and not to doe the same. And you my friendes
remaining in the Sea and in god shippes, as sone as you shal
heare that any of these shippes shall chaunce vnto me, get
you hence, and carrie newes of this our discouerie, and as
touching this, let there be no farther talke, for that I by
the grace of God will goe to Calicut to see the King. When
that his determination was perceived, they all assented that
they were contented with his going: and therevpon they
appointed him twelue of his men to goe with him, that is
to say, Diego Dias his Secretarie and Fernan Martinez the
interpretour, Iohn de Sala, which was afterward Treasurer
of the house of the Indias, &c. So that with him in all they
were thirteene. They appointed also that in his absence ther
should remaine for Captaine generall his brother. Also he
gaine commaundement that he shoulde not suffer any man
to come abord his shipp, and all those that were desirous to
goe abord to commaund them to remaine in their boate or
Almadias. Moreoer he left order with Nichol as Coello,
that he shoulde come every day with his boate as neare vnto
y shore as he could. These things being settled, the next day
after being Mundaye, the xviii. of May, the Captaine gene-
rall did imbark himself with those twelue before rehearsed,

The Ge-
nerall de-
termined
to goe to
Calicut

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they all being apparailed in the best attire that they had, & their boates furnished with much ordinaunce, flagges, and trumpets, which went alwaies sounding, untill such time as the Captaine general came to land, wheras the Catual was tarrieng for him, being accompanied with 200 Nayres, which attended ther continually: besides many others that wer not of that company, & besides many also, that were of the towne. The Captaine generall being disimbarked, was ioysfully receiued of the Catuall, & of others that did accompany him, as though they were very glad of his comming, & after he was thus receiued, he was taken into an Andor, which the King of Calicut had sent to bring him vpon, for in this countrey they are not accustomed to goe a horsebacke, but in these Andors, which are like unto a horsestir, sauing that they are wout any couer ouer them, & almost plaine, the sides therof are also very low. Each of these Andors, when they will occupie the same, are caried vpon 4 men vpon their sholders, which also doth run post vpon the, at such time as the King & noble men do make any great iourney, or if so be that they wil go a great ground in a small time: for they may trauell in the same either sitting or lieng, as they wil themselves. Also ther go with these certaine footmen, which carie with them hats, wherwith to couer those that go in these Andors, which they do call Buceys, so that by this meanes, they are kept from the sunne & the raine, ther are also other Andors, that haue ouer the a cane boord like unto a hooke, whiche for they are made very light, may easily carie those 2 men. The Captaine generall being moued in this Andor, departed vpon the Catuall, who was carried in another Andor, to a towne called Capocate, but all the rest of the company went afoore, the people of the country was comauaded by the Catuall to carie all such apparel as our men had brought vpon the, which was ther redelivered vnto the, & being in Capocate, they staid to refresh themselves: where the Captaine generall being in one house & the Catuall in another they did eate, & to al our men was giuen to eat sodden fish, & rices & butter, besides fruits of the countrey, which differ from ours very much, yet they are very good. The one

The Captaine Generall goeth a land.

the fruies
of Calicut

sort of these is called Lacas, and the other Mangas, howbeit they haue figs also. The water that they did drinke, was very excellent, as good as any in Portugal. Thus after they had eaten, they went againe to imbarke themselves, for that they shuld go vpon a riuere, which from thence runneth into the sea: the Captaine generall did imbarke himselfe with his company into 2 Almadias, lieng the one close to the other, which in the countrey they did call Enlangada. The Catuall & his traine were imbarke in many others, and the people that came to the riuers side to see and view our men were without number, for so much as that countrey is well inhabited. And after that they had gone in this riuere about a league, and that along the shores side, they saw lieng a ground many great ships, the Captaine generall with the Catuall being disimbarked, did returne to their Andors, and following their waye, ther resorted alwayes about them thousandes of people to see them, wherein they tooke such a felicitie that the very women also with their chilidren hanging at theyre backes, did not feele the waye they went in, following to fide their eyes. From this place which I haue made mention of, the Catuall did carrie him vnto a certaine Pagode of their Idolls, into which when they were entred, he told him that the same was a Church of great devotion, which the Captaine generall beleued to be true, & to be some church of the Christians, & therfore he gaue the more credit therunto, the rather for that he saw that ouer the principall doore therof, there hanged seuen little bells, & afore the same there was a pillour made of wier, the which was as high as the mast of a ship, vpon the top thereof there stode a wether cock, made likewise of wier. This church was as great as a god Monestary, and was made all of free ston, and couered or vaulted ouer with bricke, which gane an outwarde shewe, as though within side it shoulde be of verye faire workmanship. Our Captaine was very glad to see the same, for that he thought himselfe to be among Christians, and entering within this Church with the Catuall, they were received by certaine men, naked from the girdle vppwarde,

¶.ij.

and

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and from thence downe to the knee, couered with certainte linnen cloth made of cotten, with þ which their arme holes were couered also, without any thing vpon their heads, and vpon their left sholders they had certainte number of thrids, which came vnder their right sholders, much like as the Priests were wont to weare their stoles heare amongst vs, when they went to Masse. These men are called Cafres and are Gentiles, which serue in Malabar in their Pagodes, who with a sprinkle tooke water out of a certainte fountaine & threw the same vpon the Captaine generall & vpon the Catuall and on the rest of the compayne. After all this they gaue them Saunders in pouder to cast the same vpon their heads as they did heare their Ashes, & as also they shuld do þ like vpon þ brasouns of their armes, but they could not do so, by reason of their apparrel which they had on, but yet they did not let to doe it on their heads: so going about this Church, they saw many Images painted vpon þ wal, wher of some ther wer þ had great teeth, which apperead to be so monstrous þ they were of an inch of length without their mouth. Others ther wer þ had fourre armes, & therwith wer so ill fauoured, that they seemed to be very diuellis, þ which sight made our men stand in doubt, whether the same wer a Church of Christians or no. Being come afore the Chappel which stod in þ midst of their Church, they perceiued þ the same had a certain little rofe, made much after þ manner of a tower, þ which was also builded of fre stone, & in a parte of this rofe ther was a doze made of wire, by þ which a man might enter into it: the going vp to the same tower, was by a staire of stone: within this tower, which indeed was somewhat dark, was inclosed in þ wall a certain Image þ which our men beheld a far off, for þ they would not suffer the to go neare þ same, saing þ ther was none þ could go ther, but those þ wer Cafres, howbeit they made a signe to the Image, naming þ same our Lady, giving therby to understand that it was hir Image. The Captain generall supposing the same to be true, fell vpon his knees, with þ rest of þ compayne making their praiers: but one whose name was Iohn de Sa-

Holy wa-
ter of Ca-
licut

Holy ash-
es.

The Ge-
nerall de-
ceaved, co-
miteth
Idolatry
vith the
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of the East India.

la, being in doubt whether þ same church wer of christians or not, for þ he saw so monstros Images painted on þ wals, as he fel on his knæs said, If this be þ diuel, I worship god. The Captaine Generall that heard him say so, looking vpon him laughing. The Catuall and his compayne as they came before this Chappell, did fall downe flat vpon the ground with their hands before them, and this they did thre times, and afterward they arose and made their praiers standing.

¶ How and after what sort the Captaine Generall was received in Calicut, & how he tolde the king his message which he carried. Cap. 17.

 From this place he went forward on his way, vntill such time he came to Calicut, and at the entering of the same, they carried him w the rest of his company to another Pagode, lyke unto that whiche he had seene before, and when that he would haue entered into the Citie, the people were so many, as well of those that came forth of the same for to see our men, as also of those that went with him, that for the multitudine of them, he could not goe in the streets, insomuch that the Generall meruailed to see so many people: and when as he sawe himselfe to be there, he gaue God great thankes, for bringing him vnto that Citie, most humbly desiring him, so to guide him, that he might returne to Portingale, with his whole request & desire. After that he had gone a while in that streeete, into which he entered, for that the people wer so many that he could not passe through it, insomuch that those that did carry him vpon his Andor, were driven to go with the Catuall into a house. Whether came to beare the Captaine Generall compayne, the Catualls brother who was a noble man, and sent by the kings commandement to accompanie him to the kings pallaice, who also brought with him many Nayers, and before them went manye Trumpets and Sagbutts, vpon the which they went all

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the kings
pallaice.

sounding. And also there was one Nayre which carried a Calēuer which he shot of, now & then. After y the Captaine generall & this noble man was thus ioysfully received, they toke their way straight to y pallaice, with a great noise, y which thole instruments & the people together made, which after y the Catuals brother was come, gaue place & followed after them, with as great obedience as if y king had ben there in his owne person. There went along with the fully thrie thousand men with their wepons, besids those y stood upon y penthouses, & at their dores, which wer wout number. The Captaine generall was very glad to see how well he was receyved, & said vnto those y he caried w him, with a mery countenance, how little do they thinke in Poitingale of this our gret receiving, & with this they came to y kings pallaice an houre before y Sun set. The kings pallaice (leaving aside y the same was made of earth) was very great, which seemed to be of a godly building, for y great multitude of tries which did appeare betwene y houses, & these wer stading in godly gardēs in y which wer plesāt flowrs, sweet hearbs, & fountains of water to recreate y king wall, for y he neuer goeth frō this pallaice til y he departeth from Calicut. Out of this pallaice there came sundry Caimales, & other noble men to receive y captain general, which brought him to a certain gret court y was right before y gates, & frō thence they wēt into 4. other seueral yards of courts. At y gate of each of which, ther wer x. porters, which gates they passed w giuing y people many & sundry blows, which y porters bestowed vpon the to make rōme, y we might go in: & being come to y last gate which was in y house where the king himself was, ther came forth an old little man, which was Brainene Maior of y kings house, who imbraced the captaine general, & caried him in w thole y wer with him. Bramene Maior is the kings high Priest, & the chiefeſt of the religious me of his gentility. At this entring the people wonderfullly prested thēſelues to go in, for that they see the king but by great chaunce, as going but few times abroad out of his pallaice, & wold therſoze haue entered w our me to ſee him. The multitude was ſo great y there wer ſome of them

thē ſtiled, as also ther had ben two of our me ſo vſed, if ſo be y they had not gone before, & it had ſmally profitid to lay on y people w their ſtaues to y end to make more rōme, if ſo be ther had not ben many of thē hurt, wherw they gaue place y our me might enter. Moreover those noble me which did accompany the Captaine general, at this third gate entred into the house wher the king was, the which was ver y great: all the ſame was cōpaffed about w ſeats made of timber, one aboue y other as the Theatres are: the ſtore of the ſame was al couered ouer w greene velvet, & the hangings about the wals were of ſilke of ſundry colours. The king himſelf was of colour brown, & of a great ſtature & of good yeres, he was lieng vpon his Estrado y which was couered ouer w a cloth of white ſilke & gold & a rich estate ouer him, Estrado is a ſeat made of wood. On his head he had a night cap, made much like vnto a ſalet, after y old ſort which was couered ouer w ſtone & pearle, & in his ears he ware iewels of y ſame ſort. He had vpon him a iacket of fine cotten, y buttons wherof were of great pearle, & the butten holes were of gold thred, he had about his middle a white cloth made of y ſor ſaid cotten, y which reched down vnto his knees, y fingers of his hāds & toes wer ful of rings of gold, in y which were ſet very fine ſtone, & on his armes & legs many bracelets of golde: hard to this Estrado, there was a certain yelver y which had a high ſot wrought al of gold, & is of y making of y Flanders cups, & that plaine, albeit they are greater & not ſo dēpe: in this was y Vitele which the king doth chaw in his mouth, w ſalt & Areca, which is an apple no bigger thē a nut in Conſervia. This is eatē in all y Indias, for y the ſame doth make a god breth, drith y ſtōmack & killeth y thirſt, which being chawed in pēces hee throweth y ſame out of his mouth, & takeſt another. And for y the king ſhuld not ſwallow y ſame downe, there is prepared a vessel of gold for him to ſpit in, which is as big or little bigger thē a dish, hauing a ſot alſo of gold. Also he hath a fountaine of gold which is ful of water wherw hee walkeſt his mouth, when he had made an end of chawing this Vitele which he is accuſtomed to take.

The de-
cription
of y king:
pretence
chamber.

the king
Vitele.

This

The Conquest

This Vitele is ministred vnto hym by an olde man which standeth hard by the Estrado, all the others that are in this place holde their left hands afore their mouths, to the end their breath should not come where the king is, who taketh the same for great discutesie, to spit or to sciese, & therefore there is none that breatheth afore the king. The Captaine General being come into this house, made reuerence to the king, after the use of the Countrie, which is to stope or bowe downe thre times, lifting vp his hands as one that praiseth God. The king immediatly made signes vnto hym as willing hym to drawe neare vnto him, and commaunded hym to sit downe in one of those seates which I haue spoken of, who being thus set, the rest of his men did enter and made hym the lyke reuerence, whom the king commaunded likewise to sit downe right ouer against him, and that there should be giuen them water for their hands, that they might with the same refresh themselves since they were very hot, for although it was winter yet it was hot. After þ they had washed their hands, he commaunded to be giuen them ffigges and lacas to eate, and that soþ, with, which they did receive with a god will. The king was very glad to see them eate, who was very earnest in looking vpon them, and did laugh thereat. Afterward hee tooke occasion to talke with the old man that ministred vnto hym this Vitele, and in the meane time our men did cal for water, for that they were a thirst, the which was giuen them to drinke by an Pewter of golde, and when our men did understand þ order of their drinking was to hold their cup of height ouer their mouths, for þ the Malabars do take the same for an iniurie to touch þ cup with their lips, they did therfore hold the same ouer their mouth, in that order that part of the water fell into their throates & made some of them to cough, & vnto others it fell besides their mouths, and vpon their faces, which did runne downe vpon theyr breasts. All this the king was very gladde to see, who looking towards the Captaine Generall, spake vnto hym by an interpretour, willing hym to speake vnto those that were

there

The cu-
stome in
drinking.

of the East India.

41

there, & to tell them his pleasure, & likewise to report vnto him of theirs, with this the Captaine General was nothing contented, for þ he thought the same a disgracing vnto him, & answered by þ interpretor þ he was the king of Portingales Ambassadour, which was a mighty king, & that the christian princes did not use to receutre their imbassage by a third person, but by themselves, & that before very few, & those þ were of great credit. And for that he did accustome the same order in þ other countries from whence he came, he wold not therfore vster his imbassage but only vnto þ king himself, vnto which the king answered þ he liked wel therof, & that it shuld be so obserued, & immediatly he commaunded the Captaine Generall & Fernan Martines to be carried vnto another chamber whiche was adornd with þ like estate as the other was, & as wel hanged, & after þ the Captaine general was ther, þ king came therer also, but our men remained where they wer first, & this was about the Sun set. The king as soone as he was come into this chamber went to his Estrado, there came no more with him but his interpretor & the Bramene Mayor, & the olde man which doth alwayes giue this Vitele vnto þ king, & controler of his house. The king & they being ther together, he asked of þ captain general of what part of þ world he was & what he wold haue: wher vnto he answered, that he was an Ambassadour of a christian king of þ Occident part, & of a kingdome called Portingale, besides many others, insomuch þ he is of a great powrer both in possessions & people, & much more in riches, & all other things necessarie, more then any other king of those parts, & hath so ben for þ space of these lx. yeres, so þ those þ haue ben kings his predecessours, haing the same brought vnto them, how þ in the Indias there were christian kings & great noble men, in espe- ciall þ king of Calicut, they were moued the rather to send to discouer þ same by their Captaines, & to make friendship with the king of þ country, & to take them for brothers as reason doth bind the king his Maister now to do, & to visit them by his Ambassadors, not þ he hath any need of their tisches,

P.

The mes-
sage that
was sent
to þ king
of Cali-
cut from
þ king of
Portingal.

The Conquest

riches, for that in his owne countreyes of golde & siluer and other things of great value, he hath more therof then neede did require. And as for those Captaines whom he did send vnto this discouerie, they haue gone in the same a yere or two, vntill such time as they haue consumed their victuals and without finding of that which they sought for, haue returned to Portingale, & haue in vaine spent great sums of money. But the king Don Manuel which reaigneth as now, & is desirous to make an end of this enterprize, which was begun so long time agone, for that to them ther shuld not lack sufficient victuals, as there did vnto the others before, did therfore give him thre shippes that were laden therwith, commaunding hem not to returne to Portingale without the discouery of that king of the christians which is Lord of Calicut. And if so be y he shuld returne without bringing him relation therof, he would then commaund his head to be cut off. And further he willed him y if so be y he shoulde chaunce to arraine at the place where the king was, to deliuer him two letters, which he wold present vnto him the next day, for y it was then somwhat late. And also that he shoulde tell him that he was his friend & brother, requesting him that since that he doth send so far of to seeke him out, that in recompence therof he wold accept of his kin dred, and friendship, and also that he woulde send him his Ambassadour for the better confirmation of the same, and y frō thence forth they wold visit one the other with their embassadours, as it is accustomed amongst christian kings.

The king shewed hymselfe to be well pleased with this Embassalage, for he tolde the Captaine Generall that hee was very well welcome. And since that the king of Portingale wold be his friend & brother, he wold be the like vnto him, and vpon the same wold send him his Embassadour, which thing the Captaine Generall did desire most earnestly, for that he durst not shew hymselfe afore y king his Master wout him. The king did therfore promise him so to do, & that forthwith he wold dispatch him thereth. After y he was desirous to know y whole estate of y king of Por-

of the East India.

43

Portingale perticularly, & how far of y countrey laye from Calicut, & how long he had ben vpon that voyaige. And for y part of the night was well spent, y king willed him to retire, demaunding of him first, whether he wold goe lye amongst the Moores or amongst the Christians, who answere red that he wold lye with neither of them, but alone, & by himself. The king vpon his answere commanded a certein Moore which was his factoz to go & accompany y Captaine general, & comanded to giue him al things y wer necessary. How the Captaine Generall was minded to sende a present to the king, but his company would not consent to the same, & how the Moores began to bring the Captaine generall out of credit with the king. cap.18.

The Captaine generall being dispartched to go toward his lodgynge (although y fourre houres of the night were past) the Captaine generall & the others y had accompanied him before, did now the like, & they all going afoot, ther fell such raine, that y streets ran full therof, & therfore he was driven to comand some of his men to carry him vpon their backs, (not for the water only) but for y it wold be late or euer y he could come to his lodgynge, with this y Captaine generall was so angry, y he complained vpon y kings Factoz, demaunding whether he meant to carry him about the citie all y night or not, who answered y he could do no otherwaise, for y y city was great & scattered, & so he carried him to his owne house, to rest hymselfe a while. And afterward he gaue him a horse, vpon y which he might ride. And for y this horse was w/out a saddle, y Captaine wold not accept the offer, sateng, y yet rather he wold go a foot, & so he went vntill such time he came to his lodgynge, where thole y did accompany him, left him in a god lodgynge. And before his coming, his men had brought thereth his stuffe, where y Captaine generall having rested hymselfe, & being in great ioy to see so god beginning of his busynesse, determined on the next day being Tewliday, to spend a present to the king.

¶.ii.

And

A present
for the king
of Cali-
cut.

And for that he knew he could not send the same, but that the Factor and the Catuall shold haire the ouersight therof, did therefore sende for them that they might haue the view thereof, who beeing come, he shewed the same vnto them, which was fourre Capulis of graine, and sixe hattes, fourre braunches of Cozall, twelue Almasares, a fardell of Brasse, in the which there were seauen pieces, a Chest of Sugar, two Barrels of Dile, & two of honnie. The Factor and the Catuall hauing seene these parcels, began to laugh therat, saing, that y same was nothing to present the king withall, for that the poorest Merchant that commeth to his port doth giue him much more then the same, wishing him that since he would needs giue him a present, to sende him some golde, for that the king woulde not accept any other thing. At this their answere the Captaine generall was offended, & so he shewed himselfe to be, saing, that if so be he were a Merchaunt or that his comming thecher were to trade, he woulde then haue brought him golde; But he was no Merchaunt but an Ambassadour, which was the cause he brought none with him, & that this which he doth now send to y king of Calicut, is his own gods, & not y king his Maisters, who for that he did not certeinly know that he shoulde haue met with the king of Calicut, did therfore give him nothing to present him withal: but at his next retурne knowing for certeinie that he shall finde him, the king his Maister will send him golde, siluer, & other rich things. To this they answered and sayd that it might be so, howbeit it was accustomed in that countrie, y whatsoeuer stranger he be that doth come & speake with the king, he sendeth hym a present, which is according to y greatness of his estate. Unto which the Captaine generall did reply, saing y it was god y their custome shoulde be kept, & that for the preseruatiō of the same, he did make him this present, which is of no greater value, for the cause aboue said: And therefore he desired them to suffer him to carrie the same to the king, which if so be y they woulde not let him doe that, then he woulde send the same backe to his shippes againe.

They

They answere him that immediately he might so do, as he last determined, for that they woulde not consent that the same shoulde be carried to the King. With this answere the Captaine generall was very angry, and said vnto them, that since they woulde not consent that he shoulde sende that present to the King, he woulde therefore go himselfe & speake with him, and woulde now retурne to his shippes. This was his meaning, to enforme the King what had past about this present. They said y it was well done so to do, but for so much as they shoulde remaine with him in the Court a god while, it were for them very necessary to goe about a little busynesse in the meane space, which they will go to doe, and immediately retурne to goe with him, since that the King wold not be pleased that he shuld go without them: for so much as he was a straunger, and for that there were many Mozes in the Citie. The Captaine generall giuing credite to their wordes concerning their retурne, immediately answere them that he woulde tarry for their coming: but they did not retурne all that daye, for that they were enimies to the Captaine generall, by reason of the Mozes, who were his enimies also, and had received newes what he had done in Monsambicke, and of the taking of the Sambuco in Mylynde, and that we were Christians, and that our comming was to discouer Calicut. Bontaybo also told the Mozes, that Spices were esteemed in Portingale very much, and that as he iudged they wer not come to discouer Calicut, but to settle there a trade, and to carrie Spices into their Countrey, in the which there is of all sorts of Merchaunts that come to Calicut by the way of the straights, and great stoe of golde and siluer, and haing the Trade settled there, woulde redowne vnto the King great profit thereby. To the which wordes the Mozes gaue great care, and made their reckoning vpon Bontaybos speach, and allowed the same: That we being Christians and once come to settle a Trade in Calicut, their commoditie then would fall of the priece they were at, and so woulde abate the most part of their gaine. About this they layed their heads toge- ther,

p.ii.

Treason
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the fleet

ther, to worke all meanes they could possible with the king, to take the Captaine generall prisoner, and to commaunde his shys to be taken also, and to kill all our men, and this the rather, for that in no wise they shoulde retourne to Portingale, to carry newes of Calicut. And heerepon they ioyned thole that were in credit with the King, and went vnto him, and one in the name of them all, said vnto the king: That he shoulde not deceiue himselfe with our men, soz that the Captaine Generall was no Embassadour but a thase, that went to rob, which they knew soz most certaine by their Factors, which had certified them, that asone as we were come to Monsambicke, wher the Xeque went to visite the Captaine generall abord his shyppe, and sent him presents, and established with him friendship, and also giuing him a Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, whether he said that he wold goe. He after this shot his Ordinaunce at the towne, with the which he killed of his Subiects, and tooke certaine Sambucos laden with Merchaunts, and handeled both him and his like vnto Enimies. And being departed from thence to Mombassa, likewise vnder y coloz of friendship, saing that he was bound towarde Calicut, the King heerepon tooke occasion to send to visite the Captaine generall abord his shyp, requesting him to enter into his harbour, who being determined so to doe, whether that it was soz that he saw within the same many shys, or y he thought he could not make his partie god, did flye away so fast, that he left one of his Ankozs behinde him: and from thence also the Pilot ran away, which he caried from Monsambick, soz the ill lyfe which he lead with him, with whipping of him, and putting of him vnto other punishment. And being departed from Mombass, and come nere vnto Mylynde, did take perforce a Sambuco laden with Mores, of y which there were some that dyed in the battaile, & others that are yet aliue remaining captiues. And soz that thole that were captiues willed him to carry them to Mylynde, saing, that there they woulde give him a newe Pilot to carrie him to Calycut, by that meanes onely he came thether. And having

there

ther by the King of Mylynde bene receiued very well, yet the Captaine generall would no more come a lande, fearing the hurts which he had done, and taking the Mores prisoner which the King had sent to visit him, and would not delyuer him, vntill such time that he had a Pilot sent him. Ther by it might well be considered, that if so be that he were an Embassadour and were come to maintaine peace, he would never haue vsed those disorders, but wold haue brought the King a present with him. Of this his demeanour, we giue ther to understand, as our dutie bindeth vs, that now thou maist doe as thou shalt thinke god therein. With this newes the king remained amazed, and told the Mores that he wold determine himselfe what shall be thought most conuenient: they seeing this, thought the same not to be the waye to cause the King to doe as they wold haue him, and did afterward tell the Catuall thereof, who was in great credite with the King, requesting him to perswade with the King, not to receive any such Embassage as that was, and the cause thereof the rather was, that he tooke this present soz small a valew. With this the Catuall went immedately to the King, who told him what the Mores had said, to whom the Catuall gaue counsaile, to doe as the Mores had requested him: immediately the King began to change his countenaunce against the Captaine generall, but not so much as the same might be perceived. But as soone as the Mores had knowledge by the Catuall concerning the present that the Captaine generall would haue sent to y King, and that he wold not consent thereto, the Mores tooke occasion to go to y Generalls lodging with a fained friendship offering themselves to instruct him what he shoulde best doe, and talking with him they sayd, that in that Country it was accustomed that thole the which came from other places about busynesse with the King, shoulde bring him a Present, and therfore it were god that he did sende him one. The Captaine Generall being offendid with that iniurye they hadde offered him, and that the Catuall and the Kings Factor wold not consent thereto,

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The conquest

did upon the same take occasion to shew them those pieces, the which he was minded for to send, who having seene the same, they saide to the Generall, that the Catuall and the Factor had great reason to be offendred therat, for that the same was not a present for to be sent to a King, neyther would they wish him to send it, for that it would be indg-ed that by the sending thereof he did mocke the King: All this they tolde him, and as they said as friends, in shewing him their minde. Bontaybo told him also in the same manner, meruailing what was the cause he brought no other things, since there was plentie of all things in Portingale: But the Captaine generall excused himselfe, saing: that he was not certaine that he shold come to Calycut.

¶ How the Captaine generall returning spake with the King of Calycut, & how he gaue him license to returne unto his ships. Chap. 19.



¶ This daye the Captaine generall was greatly offendred, for that the Catuall & the Factor were not returned, so that he was once determined to goe to the Court with out them, yet he thought best to tarry till the next daye, on which in the afternoone they came, with whome he shewed himselfe to be offendred for their long tarieng. But they did answere him touching that matter nothing at all, but talked of other things, and so went with him to the Court. And for that the King was somewhat chaunged, as I haue said, against the Captaine Generall, he did not commaund him to come into his presence in thre houres after his comming to the Courte, and then commaundement was given ther shold come no more in with the Embassadour but two of his owne men, with the which he was offendred, for y he thought the same seperating from his men, was not meant well, did therfore carry

of the East India.

carry with him Fernan Martinez, and one Diego Dias, the which was his Secretary. Being come where the King was, he did not receiue him so well as at the first time, but said vnto him with a severe countenaunce, that he had tari-ed for him all the day before, and he came not. The Captaine generall answere, that he did deferre his comming, for that he found himselfe weary by reson of the long way, for he was very loath to tell him the cause why he staid, for that he woulde not give the King occasion to talke of the present that he woulde haue sent him: But it did well appere that the Catuall and the Factor woulde not haue hindred the sending of the same vnto the King, but for y they well knew, he woulde haue made small account thereof. And also they must of force haue told him that they had seene the same. Neuerthelesse it coulde not be excused, but that the King spake vnto the Captaine generall thereof immediate-ly sateng: how that he had tolde him that he was belong-ing to a great and rich King, and yet he brought no pre-sent from him, but an Embassalge of friendship onely, and therefore he could not tell what friendship he woulde haue with him, since that he did send him nothing. Vnto this the Captaine generall did answere, that there was no maner that he did bring him nothing, for that he came not in as-surance that he shoulde mette with him. But now since that he hath seene him he shoulde well perceiue what his King & Master will hereafter sende him, if so be that God wil giue him leaue to carry newes of this his discouery. And if so be that he will giue credite to his Letters which he did bring with him, he shalt then see what the King doeth send him word of. The King in stede of deuaunding his Letters, asked him whether the King his Master did sende him to discouer stoncs or men, and if so be that he did send him to discouer men, how doth it chaunce then that he sent him no present. And since that it is manifest that he had brought him nothing, he sayd as then that it was told him that he had a Sancta Maria in golde, requesting of him the same.

The king
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taine Ge-
nerall.

The Conquest

The Captaine generall was partly ashamed to see the King so altered, for that he had not brought him a present. And now moreouer to demand without all honestie that Image. To whom he aunswered, that the Sancte Maria, which they tolde him of, was made of wood, and gylded ouer and not of Massie golde. And although that it were (yet would he not depart therewith) so somuch as the same had preferred him in the Sea, and had brought the same from his Countrey. The King did not reply vpon this answere, but demanded those Letters the which the King had sent him: whereof the one was in the Portingale tongue, the other in the Arabian language. These he tolde him were sent in this order, for that the King his Master did not know whether of these two langaues was vnderstode in his Countrey. Wherefore he desired that since the Portingale language was not vnderstode in his Countrey but the Arabian, and that there wers Christians of the Indias that did understand the same, one of those might read his Letter, and the rather for that the Moors are enimies to the Christians, of whoni he was afeard, least that they should chaunge the sense thereof. The King commaunded them so to bee read: howbeit there could be founde no Indian that coulde read the same, or at the least would shew himselfe that he could read them. The Captaine generall seeing that there was no other remedie, but y the Moors must needs read the same, was dgiuen then to request the King, that Bontaybo might be one of them. This was done, for y as he thought he would speake and vle more truthe then the others, for the acquaintance they had with him. The King commaunded the same to be read by other thre, who having read y same first of all to themselves, & afterward with a loude booyce declared to the King the effect thereof, the which was, That as soone as the King of Portingale had knowledge, y he was one of the mightiest Princes of all the Indias, & a Christian, he was desirous to haue a trade & a friendship with him, for that he might haue out of his Countrey, Spices; the which he hath in great plentie, for which there commeth diuers

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Calicut

of the East India.

uers from many places of the world thether to buy y same. And therefore if so be he will gie him license to sende for the same, that then he wil send unto him from his kingdome many things which he hath not in his, as his Captaine generall and Embassadour will tell him. And if so bee that with those things he were not pleased, he will sende him money both of golde and siluer to buy them withall, & how that as well of his Merchaundize as of the money, y Captaine generall could shew him part. The King hearing this, as he was desirous that for the increase of his rents there should come many Merchaunts unto Calicut, shewed himself to be wel pleased with this letter, & also made unto the Captaine generall a better countenaunce then he did before, & asked him what Merchaundize ther were in Portingale. He named many, shewing how that of all he had brought with him part, and also of their money, requesting him license to goe aboard for the same, and in the meane while he wold leaue in his lodging fourte or fiftie of his men. The King giuing more credite to that which he spake, then to that the Moors had told him, said unto him, y he might go in a god houre, & carie his men with him, for there was no necessarie that they should remaine a lande, & that he should bring his Merchaundize, & sell them as well as he could. With this license he remained well content, for (as he saw y King make him at the first an ill countenaunce) so he thought y he wold not haue giuen him y same, & with this license he went first to his lodging, being by y Kings commandement accompanied with the Catuall: and for somuch as that daye was all spent, he wold not goe aboard that night.

¶ How the Captaine generall hauing license of the King to go to his shipp, was staid by the Catuall in Pandarane. Chap.20.

¶ The next daye after, which was the last daye of Maye, the Catuall sent to the Captaine generall a Horse, howbeit without anye furniture to the same, vpon which he might goe to Pandarane: And for that the Horse carie after that order, he woulde

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not accept his offer, but rather requested him for one of his Andoors, the which he sent him immediately, and on the same he went to Pandarane, and all his men came after him on foot. There went to bear him company many Mores, the Catuall did remaine in Calicut, and when the Mores had notice that he should there stafe, and that the Captaine generall was gone towards his shippes, supposing that he went for altogether, were so ze amazd therewith, wheretpen the Mores tooke occasion to goe to the Catuall, with large offers of money to pursue the Captaine generall, and under a fained pretence to lay hands vpon him and to take him prisoner, for that they would finde occasion to kill him: and he by this meanes shoulde remaine in no fault thereof at all. And albeit that the king would punish him for so much as he did keepe him prisoner, yet they would not feare but to get him his pardon. With this bribe and promise he did depart immediately, and went in such hast after him, that hee pass by our men which did remaine behinde the Captaine generall, for that they were not able to goe much, by reason of the heate. The Catuall having overtaken the Captaine generall, asked him why he did make so much hast, or wher he were now running away: this was spoken by signes, y which the Captaine generall did understand, who aunswere him also by signes that he did runne away to slye the heat. And being come to Pandarane, for that his men as yet did not appeare, the Captaine generall tolde the Catuall that hee would not goe into the village, vntill his men were come, and there he tarried for them in a house, wherein he rested himselfe from the raine: howbeit they came not vntill it was almost Sunne set, for so long he did tarry for them because they had lost their waze. But after that they were come, the Captaine generall tolde them, that then it was not time to leau him, whereas if so be that they hadde come sooner, hee hadde bene as then in his shippes.

Wherewpon, immediately hee did demande of the Catuall a Boate or Pinnace for to goe aborde in, who for that hee pretended an other thing, aunswere him,

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him, that it was verye late, and that the shippes did ride farre, and going in the night he might misse them, and therfore that it were a great drale better to tarie vntill y next day. To y which the Captaine generall made him a plaine answere, that if so be that he would not give him an Almadias or Pinnace, he woulde immediatly returne to the king & complain vpon him, for so much as the king had sent him to his shippes, and he woulde seeme to stay him, which was very ill done, since that he was a Christian as they were. This was spaken with such a coulour as if he wold haue returned to Calicut. The Catuall for to dissemble with him the more, did make him a countenance as though he woulde give him thirtie Almadias, if he woulde haue so many. Howbeit he tolde him that he did counsell him for the best, and to remaine. But if so be that he woulde goe he was contented therewith. Thus on one parte he sent to seeke out Almadias or Pinnaces, and on the other part commaunded the owners of the same to hide themselves out of the way because they shuld not deliuer the same. In the meane season whilo they went to sacke those Pinnaces, the Captaine Generall went along the water side, and for that he had an euill suspition of their dealing, for that which they had done to him in Calicut, he commaunded Gonfallo Peres, a Marriner, with other two of his men, to goe before as fast as they could, & see if they could finde Nicholas Coello w his boates to wil him to keepe himselfe cut of the way, for so much as he was afraide least y the Catuall wold send to take his boates, with all those that were with him in the same, Gonfallo Peres with the other went about that busynesse whiles the Catuall went in the meane season so leasly to provide for this boate, that the night drew on, so that it was thre houres within night cre he coulde heare of any thing what hee had done, and what for that & also to tarrye the comming of thysse that went to Nicholas Coello, the Captaine Generall was the willinger to stay there that night. After that the Catuall had placed the Generall in a Mores house, tolde him that he woulde

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goe to selle out Gonfallo Peres, & the other two that went with him. Howbeit he came not backe till it was the morning. And as soone as the Captaine Generall had sight of him, immediatly he required a boate for to goe in unto his shippes. But as soone as the Catuall heard him, he then spake unto his Nayres that were there present in his language, wh^o afterward willed the Captaine Generall to commande his shippes to be brought neare unto the shoare, and that being done he shoulde have license to goe his waye, with this the Captaine Generall was somewhat afearde, howbeit he answered him with a stout stomacke, that as long as he was on land, he would commaund no such matter to be done, forasmuch as then his brother woulde judge him to remaine in prison, and that he did commaund the same to be done more for feare then any thing els, wherupon he wold immediatly depart toward Portingal, without him.

The Catuall
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ned.

To this the Catuall made answere with the others that were with him, speaking with a stoutnesse, that if so be that he woulde not doe that whiche was willed him to doe, y^e then they woulde not let him go a bord. To the whiche shewing himselfe to be therewith offend^d, he made answere that if so be that they woulde not let him go, that then he wold returne to the king of Calicut, and make his complaint, who if then he wold leye him in his countrey, y^e then he wold be verie glad to dwel in the same. The Catuall thereupon willed him so to do, & to goe to the king to make his complaint, but yet for all his laieng he woulde not consent therunto, for that he had commaunded the dores of his lodging to be kept shut, placing within the same sundry Nayres with their weapons. And if so that any of our men woulde goe forth, there were appointed many of the enimies to withstand them. Neuerthelesse it was Gods pleasure that the Catuall durst not venture to kill the Captaine Generall, nor yet any of his men for all that the Mores hadde briesed him with a great summe of money, and for all that he was in great credit with the king, for he stode in such a

feare thereof, that he durst not doe it.

The cause why he required the shippes to be brought to the shoare side was, for that they being there, the Mores myght the better laye the same a bord, and so take them and kill all those that were within them, whiche thing for that it did so manifestly appeare to the Captaine Generall, he woulde not commaund the Shippes to bee brought anye nearer. And also for that the same was so apparent unto the others of his men that were with him. They gaue him counsaille not to deale therein. The Catuall seeing that he woulde not commaund those Shippes to bee brought neare the shoare, and for that there was no cause to staye him or offer him any wrong, and seeing that he could not kill him, did then beginne to request him to bring his Sailes and the Rudder of the Shippes a lande, whith that the Captaine Generall beganne to laugh, saying, that he woulde neither doe the one, nor yet the other, since that the king did give him free license to goe without any condition.

And therfore he willed him to doe what he woulde, and how that of all the iniurys which he had offered him, the king shoulde bee made priuie, who he knewe woulde doe him iustice, but yet for all this, both he and his remayned in some feare of suspect, although they did not outwardly shew the same.

At length the Captaine Generall with the rest feigning themselves to be an hungred, and that they were vnprovided of victualls, did request him that some of his men myght goe to prouide the same, and he woulde remaine alone, but for all that the Catuall woulde not agree therunto. Howe our men bee^{ing} in feare to see themselves in such a daunger. Then came Gonfallo Peres, supposing that the Captaine Generall had ben at his liberty, and that they were tarieng for him and the others, who tolde him that he hadde mette with Nicholas Coello, and with the others whiche tarryed for him with they^r Boates a lande.

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The Conquest

Gonsallo
Peres sent
back to
the ships

This newes being brought to the Captaine Generall hee
was afearde least the Catuall shoulde know thereof, which
if he had knowne indeed he woulde haue sent Pinnaces and
many men in them, for to haue taken them. Wherefore did
he procure by all the meanes he could, that Gonsallo Peres
shoulde secretlye returne, from thence vnto their shippes,
and put theiuelues in god order. And also that he shoulde
goe with them and informe them in what case he doth re-
maine. Nicholas Coello hauing received this dispatch,
did forthwith depart, and that in hast, and immediatly af-
ter he was departed, the Catuall was aduertised therof,
who sent after him sundrie Pinnaces well appointed, but
yet they could not ouertake him, and therefore they retur-
ned againe vnto the Catuall. Then the Catuall after that
they were come did once more request the Captaine Gene-
rall to write vnto his brother to bring the shippes neare
to the lande, but he could not perswade the Captaine Ge-
nerall so to doe, saing that if he shoulde doe it, yet his bro-
ther woulde not consent therewnto, and although he woulde,
yet he knew that the compaune woulde not. To this the
Catuall did replie, that he shoulde not make him beleue
that, for somuch as he did well know that all things shoulde
be done as he woulde commaund. Howbeit the Captaine
Generall wold write no such letter, for that he was afearde
of the bringing of the shippes so neare the shoare, for the causes
aboue mentioned.

¶ How the Catuall was contented that the Cap-
taine Generall shoulde goe to his shippes, & af-
ter that what chaunced. cap. 21.



After this sorte they spent that day, in the
which our men remained in great feare,
for somuch as in the night they were put
in a great yarde that was underloote lay-
ed with brick, and compassed about with
walls, & also had to keepe them far more
men

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men then they had in the day. Then the Captaine Gene-
rall perceived by the countenance of his men y they feared
least they shuld be departed y one from y other y next day
after, as he himselfe suspected the lyke, although he gaue no
outward shew thereof, but rather had a confidencē, that
as soone as the king of Calicut had knowledge after what
sorte they were stayed, woulde commaunde them to be re-
leased, for that he did neuer vse with him double dealing, it
was thought that the Catuall did staye the Captaine Ge-
nerall after this order, because he shoulde giue him some re-
ward. And for that he woulde giue as it were no outward
shew that he was offended, he woulde needs come to supper
to him that night, at the which they hadde both Rice and
Pens, which he commaunded to be bought the day before.
The Catuall did much ineuiaile to see how little they did
passe for their close keeping, after that sort, and of the great
constancie of the Captaine Generall, that he woulde not
commaund those shippes to be brought neare to the shoare,
nor yet condescended to any of the other his request. And
for that he thought that it was but a follye to keepe him
prisoner, thereby the rather to constraine him to doe it, it
was Gods pleasure to put him in the head to sette him at
lybertie, for feare least that the king shoulde knowe there-
of, for that he gaue him free lybertie to goe to his shippes.
The next day which was Saterday the second of June, he
then tolde him, that since he had certified the king that he
woulde bring his Merchandise a land, he shuld command the
same to be brought. For it was a custome that whafsoeuer
Merchants did come to Calicut, he shuld immediatly vpon
the same command his Merchandise to be brought a land
and his men also, and they not to returne vnto their shippes,
vntill such time that they had solde the same, notwithstanding
as soone as the Merchandise were come, he woulde then
let him go aboard his shippes. And although his wordes were
with the Captaine Generall of small credite to send vnto
his brother a certeine dispatch for them, yet he did not lette
to tell him, that immediatly he woulde sende for them, if so
be

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be that they wold giue him Almadias or pinnaces, in the which the same might be brought, for that his brother woulde not consent that his boates shoulde come a lande, vntill such time that he were there himself, with this the Catuall was content for that he thought to make himself possessor of the Merchandise, having a speciall hope that they were of a great value, as the Captaine Generall had tolde him.

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of these
letters
vnto his
brother. Then he dispatched two of his men with a letter vnto his brother, in the which he had made relation after what sorte he did remaine. And that he had no other injury offered him, but that he kept his lodging. And for any thing else hee was very well, willing him that hee shoulde sende him part of the Merchaundise to content the Catuall withall, that he might let him depart. And after that hee had receiued the same, if then hee woulde not let him go, he would then belieue that hee did keepe him prisoner, by the king of Calicuts commaundement, who hee knew woulde not commaund the same, except it were to take his shippes, which hee woulde not doe, but having time to armie his owne flēt, & so to set vpon them, wherefore hee aduertised them that if so bee he were not set at liberty, immediatly after y^e the Merchandise were landed, that then they shoulde not remaine there any longer, but goe their wyses toward Portingale, & informe the king his Maister what had chaunced vnto him, and also what hee had done, that there might not bee lost a Countrie of so greate a profite for Portingale as that was, and also to tell him after what sorte that hee did remaine there, and what confidence hee hadde in his highnesse that he woulde send him such a flēte of ships and men, that by the same hee doth hope to be sette at liberty, beeing assured that as nowe they woulde not kill him.

He that carried these letters beeing come to Paulo de la Gama, did deliuer them vnto him, giuing vnto him large instructions of all that which they had past, since they did departe. Now Paulo de la Gama haing seene this Letter

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of the East India.

which was sent him from the Captaine General, did send immediatlye the merchaundise with an awnswere to this Letter, in the whch hee sayde, that G D D woulde not permit him to retourne to Portingale without his companye. And if so bee that their ennyyes woulde not sette him at lyberty, that then hee did hope in G D D that hee woulde strengthen those fewe that remained in the flēt, with whome and with the Ordinance that they haue, hee woulde come and set him at lyberty, and of this hee might make full account, and of no other thing.

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His bro-
thers aply

The Merchaundise beeing landed, the Captaine Generall did deliuer the same vnto the Catuall, and also to Diego Dyas whome he lefte for Factor of the same, and to Aluora de Braga the Scrivener, who remained in a house which the Catuall had sought out for them. In this spacie the Captaine Generall made himselfe in a readynesse to goe abowde his shippes, but first the Catuall did reforme, and make himselfe friendes with him.

After that hee was a boorde, hee woulde send no more Merchaundise a lande, vntill such time hee heard newes the same were soldē, neyther yet woulde goe anye more a lande, because hee woulde runne in no such daunger, with this the Mores were grierously offendē, for that they thought that if so be that he woulde come a land, that there they might doe him more hurte then a Sharowde.

And for that they woulde the rather so do, they begaine to make a mocke at the merchandise whch he had left a land. Also they wrought all the meaneys they could to hinder their sales therof, saineng y^e they wer little or nothing worth. Of al this y^e Captain general was informed, & for y^e as he thought the king knew nothing of all these things, neither yet what discuties the Catuall had offered him, & for that he shold understand the cause why the Captaine Generall did not returne a land, neither yet wold send any more merchandise, he did therfore send him word within ffe dayes after y^e his Factor of all that they hadde done vnto him, and also what iniurye the Mores hadde shewed him,

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P.ii.

touch-

touching their Merchants, promising notwithstanding, that he would not let so be at his commaundement with all the whole Fleet. Then the king seemed to be very greatly offend for that which they had done to y Captaine general, insomuch as he had sent him vnto his shippes. But for all that the Catuall went vnpunished, although he sent the Captaine Generall wrode, that he would punish those that had so vled him, which out of doubt were naughtie christians, so that it did well appeare that it grieved him verye much to heare thercof. And as touching the Merchaundise he promised to sende therethen such as shoulde buye the same, as he did indeede seauen or eyght Merchauntes, which are Gentiles Gusalates, and with his Factour he sent a Nayre, which was a principall honest man, to the intent he might remaine in the Factorie with the Factour, to whome he gaue commaundement diligentlye to beware that there shoulde not come any Mores to kill him. But for because that this was done but vnder couloure that the Mores shoulde not seeme to subborne the Merchauntes, they bought nothing, but rather did abate the price, of the which the Mores were verye gladde, and said, that nowe it did well appeare that they were not alone that woulde not buye of theyr Merchaundise, yet for all that ther dunst come no More to the Factorie, they once having notice that there was placed a Nayre by the kinges commaundement. And if so be that before they did not abide or loue vs, they ten times worse loued vs afterwarde, so that whensoeuer any of our men shoulde come a land, they received the same as an iniurie done vnto them, spitting on the ground, saing; Portingale, Portingale. But our men which understood their meaning did laugh thererat, to the ende thereby they might see howe little they did esteeme their doinges, for so the Captaine Generall commaunded them to doe. Nowe perceiving that there was none that would buy of the Merchants, he supposed the cause to be for that they lay in a place where there were no Merchauntes. And therfore supposing that if so be that they were in Calicut,

cut, where other Merchants are, he shoulde sell the better, did therfore inue y King of Calicut by a messenger for license to send the same, which he gaue immediately, and commaunded the Catuall to see the same brought forthwith, & to such as shoulde carrie them, to see them paid at his owne costes and charges, for that he would not that any thing of y king of Portingales shuld be at any charges in his Country, and so it was done: but for all this the Captaine generall wold never come more a lande, for that which the Catuall hadde done vnto him, and for that Bontay bo which came to see him manye times, did give him counsaile so to doe, for that the King was moueable, and therefore it was possible that the Mores would alter his minde, for the great credite that they were of with him. But the Captaine general was verye warie, and because that he was a More, he woulde not much trust him, neither yet woulde give him account what he was minded to doe: yet for that he would seeme to haue him in some reputation that he shoulde bring him alwayes newes of that which did passe on shoare, he departed with him both money and other rewards.

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¶ How the Captaine generall being desirous to retourne toward Portingale, sent to demaunde licence of the King to haue a Factor and a Scrivener, with such Merchauntes as he thought good: & how the King caused the messenger with one other, that was found a shoare to be craried to prison. Chap. 22.



He Merchauntes being brought to Calicut, the Captaine generall therewith gaue all his men license to goe and see the Citie of Calicut, & to buye ther what they thought good, so that there went out of each shipp every day a man, and these being returned, there went immediately others. And as they went on this

order, they were carried to the Gentiles houses wher they had god cheere, and also when occasion serued might haue among them god lodging. The like courtesie they did receive in Calicut, besides they did report vnto our men of all such things as they had, and after the selfe same manner, our men did bestow amongst them part of that they caried, which were bracelets of Brasse & of Copper, Pewter, and apparell, which they caried to sell in Calicut, or anye other place, where they might goe as quiet as in Lishborne.

From the lande there went abord both Fisher men & Gentiles to sell their Fish, Cocos and Hennes, which they gaue in trucke of basket and for ready money. Others ther wer that went ther with their children, who carried nothing with them to sell, but only their going was to see our ships. The Captaine generall was very glad of their comming, & commanded to give them meate: this he did for to increase the friendship betwene the King of Calicut & them. After this order, the ships wer never without some, & those y wer there, remained till such time that night drew on, and then they were bid to goe their waye. After this sort they spent their time till it was the x. day of August, the which was

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the beginning of the season wherin they might depart from the Coast of the Indias, and also for that as then their winter did make an end. The Captaine generall perceiving the quietnesse of the people and Countrey, and the familyaritie they vsed with our men, and how quietly they went in Calicut, without receiuing either hurt of the Moores or of the Nayres, did credibly beleue that this came to passe, for that the King of Calicut would haue peace and friendship with the King his Master, was the occasion that almost in thre moneths that our men had trade in Calicut they did receive no manner hurt, either of the Moores or of the Nayres. We did therfore determine to establish the Factorie which was there, with all such Merchandize as he had lefft at that present (although the leake parte thereof was sold) for that there was now layde a god foundation or ground worke, for the next voyage when it shuld please the King his Master

to sende againe, and if it might please God to giue him life, that he might bring him newes of this Discouerie, so that it shoulde not be needfull to make any new consent or agreement for the Factorie. And by the counsaile of his Captaines and of the other Principalls of his ships, he sent vnto the King of Calicut a present, of starkes of sundry coulours, of silkes, Coralls and other things, which was caried vnto him by Diego Dias, desiring the King to pardon him, for that he was so bold as to send him that present, considering he did the same for no other purpose, but onely to shew what seruitour he was of his, who is and will bee alwayes at his commandement, which was the occasion that he sent it, and not for that he thought that things of so small value, were of sufficient dignitie, for to represent a King withall of so great a power as he was. And if so be that he had in his custodie, that which he might esteeme or think to be of a moxe worthie price, he would sende it with a better god will. And for that the time now drawn nere y he determined to depart, he ordained for the same, and also if so bee that he did minde to send any Embassadour to the King his Master to confirme the amitie or friendship betwenn them, he desired him to commaund him to be in a readynesse, for that he had a confidence that as touching that which he had agreed vpon with his highnesse, as also presuming on y gifts which he had receiued at his hands, y he might as he was desirous, leaue in Calicut that Factorie with his Scrivener & the Merchandize which he had lefft, not onely for a witnes of a perpetuall peace & friendship settled ther with his highnes, but also for a testimony of the truth of his Embassage, & of that which y King his Master shuld send herafter, as soone as he had newes of him, & also for confirmation of his discouerie & to get some credit in Portingale, he did therfore send to kisse his hands, requesting him to send to y king his master one Bahar of cinnamon, & another of cloues, & another of some other splices, & as soone as y factorie did make any redy money of his wares, he shuld pay for y same, for somuch as at y present he had not wherewith to paye. After that Diego Dias

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had received his message, there past four dayes before the King would consent that he should come in his presence, although that he went every day unto his Pallacie. After that he had commandned him to come into his presence, he viewed how and after what sort he camme laden, and therewpon asked him with a frowning countenance, what it was that he would haue: but Diego Dias at that time was afearde, that he would commandnd him to be killed. But after that he had told him his message and would haue deliuered him the present, he would not see it, but commandnd it to be deliuered to his Factor. The auns were that he gaue touching the Captaine generall was, that since he would needes goe his waye, he might so doe: but first or that he doe depart, he must give him 600. Serafynes, for so it was the custome of the Countrey. Diego Dias being returned with this present, was accompanied by manye Nayres, which he seeing, thought it to be for the best: but as soone as he was come to the Factorie, they remained at the doze, and woulde not consent, that he or any other shoulde come forth. And after this proclamation was made in all the Citie, that vpon pain of death there shoulde goe aboord our Fleete no boake or Almadias: but yet notwithstanding all this Bontaybo went, and gaue warning to the Captaine generall in secrete, not to goe a lande, nor consent that any of his shoulde goe: for that he knew for most certaine by the Mores, that if so be that he or they shoulde so doe, the King would comandde theyr heads to be stroken off. And as touching all his faire wordes and god entertainment, which he had shewed him vnto that present, as also to give him a house in the which his Merchandise might be layd, as also the god entertainment that our men had, was but mere dissimulation, and to the ende, he might haue taken him a lande with them, & so haue commandned them all to be killed, which was wrought by the industrie of the Mores onely, which had made the King belieue, that they were theues and went a roving, and that he came not unto his Harbour, but to steale such Merchandise as shoulde be brought to the Citie, and also to espie the Countrey,

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Country, and after to come with a great Fleete soz to invade the same. In the selfe same order was the Captaine generall informed by two Malabars, which are Gentiles, being therfore now in a studie what was best to be done, having this aduertisement for most certaine, as soone as it was night, therre came aboarde the Generalls ship, a stau of the colour blacke, which was naturally boorne in Guynee, & belonged vnto Diego Dias and also was a Christian, and had the Portingall tongue very well, who tolde him that Diego Dias and Aluaro de Braga did remain in prison, & what auns were the King of Calycut had made to his message, & what he had commandnd to be done with his present, and also what Proclamations there were made: Diego Dias, for that he thought good to give him knowledge of y which had past, had vribed a Fisher man to carrie this messenger, and that in the night season that he might not be knownen. After that the Captaine generall had heard all this, he was much offendred therewith: howbeit, for that he woulde see the end thereof, woulde not depart, but did let passe that day, to see whether that any woulde come aboord him. The nexte day which was Wednesday, being the xv. of August, therre came one only Pinnace or Almadias aboord the General, in the which were four boyes, which brought fine precious stones to sell, and for that they came after such sort he toke them to be spies, and that their comming was for no other purpose but to see what they did: and by this meanes he thought he might understand in what reputation they were with the King. This was the occasion the Captaine generall did receive them with as god a countenaunce as he did before, giving them nothing to understand y he knew of the imprisonment of Diego Dias, and wold not therfore laye hand vpon those, but vpon such as shoulde come afterward (which as he thought shoulde be of more credite) vntill such time as he had recovered those that were imprisoned.

Unto those also he wrote a Letter by those boyes, with fained wordes, saing that he did understande of theyr imprisonment: this was done in such order, that if so be this

D.

letter

Boies sent
for spyes

The Conquest

The
king of
Calicuts
treason to
wards the
Capitaine
generall.

Certaine
Malabars
stayed in
exchange

letter should haue come to any other mens hands, they could not haue vnderstood the same. These Boyes did deliver vnto him this letter, who afterward told the king what great entertainment they had at the Capitaine generalls hands, which made him to beleue that he knewe nothing of the imprisonment of his men, whereof he was very glad & did retourne and send aboord others, and those that shoulde gos had warning giuen them not to disclose, that the Factor with the others did remaine prisoners. This was done by pollcie, for that he made this reckoning to deceiue the Capitaine generall on this sort, vntill such time that he was able to sende a Flete of ships vpon him, or til that the ships of Mecca, should come and take him. On this sort went the Malabars aboord, vnto whom the Capitaine generall made a god countenaunce, and commaunded them to be enterained very well: all this he did for y he saw none worth the staieng. On the Sunday next, there came sixe principal Malabars, with other fiftene which waited vpon them, in another pinace. And for that the Captain generall thought that for those the King would send him his Factor, and his Scriuenour, he laid hands vpon them all, onely he lefte two Mariners in a pinace, by whom he sent a letter to the kings Factors, written in the Malabars tongue, in the which he de maunded for the Factor and his Scriuenor, & then he wold send those which he had staid. The kings factor hauing perused this letter, he enformed y king of y which had past, who commaunded the Factor, & Scriuenor to be brought home to his house as prisoners, that he might from thence send for them, and to dissemble therewith as though he knewe nothing of their imprisonment, & so cause them to be sent from thence to the Capitaine generall, for that he might send him those Malabars which he had detained, whose wines made exclamation for the imprisonment of their husbands. And therefore the King was the more willinger to set our men at libertie, who afterward remained a while in the kings Factors house.

¶ How the Capitaine generall seeing the delayes wer made for

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for that the Factor with the Scriuenor came not, did bring himselfe in a readines as though he would depart imme diately, wherevpon without any further delay, the King sent them away, and what els happened. Chap.23.



¶ The captain general seeing y they came not, determined to proue whether y with shewing himselfe as though he wold depart imme diately, they wold the send them to him, did therfore on wednesday, being the xxiij. of August commandment to wry his Ankoy, & to bring himselfe vnder saile. And for that the Winde was contrary he was driven to come to an Ankoy fourt leagues from Calicut, riding in an open road, and there they remained till the next Saterday, to see whether they would sende their prisoners. And perceiving no likelihood thereof, he went yet further into the Sea, so far, that he scarcely could descry any land, & being at an Ankoy for lacke of winde, there came thether a boat w certain Malabars, which told y Captain generall y their comming was to seeke him out, & to tel him y Diego Dias with y others, wer in y kings pallace, whom he minded to send aboord, which thing to be true they woulde bind themselves y as y next day they shold be brought. And y cause why they brought the not as them, was for that they thought they shold not ouertake him. Now for y they sawe not y Malabars y the Generall kept as prisoners, thought y they were all dead. This craftie dealing was for no other purpose, but to dally with y Captain generall, & to stay him with those wordes that the king might in the meane while prepare in Calicut an armie of ships to set vpon him, and to farry for the ships of Mecca, to joyne with his Flete. After this the Capitaine generall commaunded those of the towne, to goe their way and not to retourne without his men, or els their letters, for if so be they did he wold link them w his ordinance. And also if imme diately they did not returne with an answere, y then he would cut off the heads of thos which he had taken. With this answere, those of the

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towne

towne did departe, and immediatlye as sone as they had winde, he made layle, and bearing along the Coast, came to Ankor at the Sianne set ouer against Calycut. The next day sur men descryed comming seauen Almadias, which came abord the Captaine generallis ship, in the one whereof came Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga, and in the others there came many others of the countrey, howbeit, there were none that durst enter within their shippes, but did put Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga in his owne boate which they had at their stearne, and afterwarde they themselves fel further off, tarrieng for the Captaine Generallis aunswere. To whom Diego Dias said, That as sone as the King of Calicut knew that he was gone, he sent for him from his Factoris house and shewed himselfe ioyfull, as one that knew nothing of his imprisonment, and asked him what was the occasion that the Captaine Generall tooke those men which he doth keepe as prisoners, who afterward tolde him the cause: whereupon the King made aunswere, that it was well done. He asked him also whether that his Factor had demaunded at his hands any thing of gift, speaking against his owne Factor which was there present, for that he knew wel enough y it was not long ago; since he commaunded one other to be killed, for taking certain bribes of Merchaunt Straungers. After all this, he willed him to tell the Captaine generall that he shold send him y ston which he promised him to be set in the Countrey, vpon the which there is a Crosse and the royll Armes of Portingale, and also to knowe of him whether he be content to leaue Diego Dias for Factor in Calicut, and with the same he sent him a letter for the King of Portingale, which was confirmed and signed by the King, and written by Diego Dias and with this Letter, he sent Aluoro de Braga. The Captaine generall tooke this Letter, which was written in a certaine Leafe of a Palme Tree, vpon the which they doe use to waite matters, that shall endure a long time, the effect whereof was this.

Vasco

Vasco de la Gama, a Gentleman of thy house came to my Countrie, of whose comming I was very glad. In my Countries there is great store of Cynamon, Cloaves, and Pepper, and precious Stones. That which I am desirous to haue out of thy Countrie, is Silver, Gold, Corall, & Skarlets. The Captaine Generall for that he salwe the king to vse no truth, woulde not aunswere for all his offers, but therewith sent him all such as he hadde stayed that were Nayres, and soz all the others, he sent him wod, he woulde not send them, vntill such time that he sent him all such merchandise as he had taken of his. Notwithstanding he sent him the ston he sent so, & with this aunswere departed those that brought Diego Dyas abord. The next day there came a boord Bontaybo who tolde the Captaine Generall that he came so sodeinly away from Calicut for that the Catuall by the kings commaundement had taken from him all that he euer had, saing that he was a christian, and that his comming to Calicut ouer land was by the king of Portingale commaundement onely to bee his spie. Other matters there were which he told him of, and that the same came by the Mores procurement, the which he knew wel, that as they tooke his gods, so they meant to do him some shrewd turne in his person, if so bee that they coulde haue taken him, and therefore he came his way before. The Captaine Generall was very glad of his comming, and tolde him that he woulde carry him to Portingale, and that there he shuld recouer all his gods with the double, besides other rewards that the king his Maister woulde giue him. He commaunded also that in his shipp there shoulde be prepared him a principall god cabine. After this about tenne of the clocke, there came a boord the Captaine Generall thre Pinnacles laden with men, and vpon certeine of their seates or benches, there was layd certeine Skarfs, as who should say, there came part of theyr Merchaundise. And after these there came other fourre one after another. And as touching those thre that brought those Skarfs, they tolde the Captaine Generall that there came all theyr Merchaundise,

Bontaybo
willing
to goe to
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The effect
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dise which they would put in his boate, and therfore they willed him to bring thether those Malabars which he had prisoners, and that there they woulde fetch them. The Captaine Generall perceiving that this was but a fetche, did will them to goe their waye, for that he woulde haue none of theyz Merchaundise but those Malabars to carrie to Portingale, as witnesses of his discouerie.

And if so be that God of his diuine godnesse doe giue him lyfe, he woulde very shortly retourne to Calicut, and then they shoulde well knowe whether that thols Christians were theuens or not, as the Moors hadde made the king of Calycat beleue, and therefore that was the cause why he did them so manifest wrong. This being done, he commaunded to shote of many peeces of Ordinaunce, with the feare thereof they ranne theyz waye. And if so bee that the kings shippes had bene in a readynesse and a floate, they had sent them against the Captaine Generall, but they were haled vp for because of the winter, which was to bee beleuued to haue bene the handye worke of GOD, that our Shippes shoulde bee there at this season, for that they might escape and carrie newes of the discouerye of this Countrys, to restore in the same the holye Catholike Faith, otherwise if it had ben Summer, he woulde haue hadde his flotte in a readynesse, the which was great, and so haue taken vs all, and by this meanes there hadde bene none lefte to haue carryed newes to Portingale.

Of the departure of the Captaine Generall from Calicut towarde Portingale, and what further happened vnto him being in the Iland Ansandina, Cap. 22.

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Although that the Captaine Generall rejoyced very much for that he had discouered Calicut, yet he was not fully satisfied therwith altogether, for that the king had conceiued against him great displeasure, & by this meanes as he iudged the next fleet that the king his maister should send, would run in great daunger. Nowbeit perceiving that it lay not in his power to do any more, he was therfore contented onely with the discouery, and to haue knowne the Indias, & of their nauigation, & what was commodious for the Countrie, and to haue brought with him from thence examples of the splices, drugs, and precious stones, as also of all other thinges that were within the same citie. And hauing there no more to doe, he departed, carrieng with him those Malabars which he had taken, for that by them he hoped to haue some agreement made with the king of Calicut at the returne of anye other Fleet. The Thursday after his departure, being in calme a leauge of from Calicut, there came towarde him to y number of ix. Tonys full of Souldiers, by the which the king of Calicut thought to haue taken them, who seeing them comming commaunded his ordinaunce to be shot of at them, & that oftentimes, and if he had not done so, they would haue put him in greate daunger for that they followed him an houre and a halfe. And by reason of a shoure of raine which came vpon a sodeine, the Captaine Generall was druiuen a sea boord with all his Fleet, & in the meane while the enimies fledde their waye, and bearing his course towards Mylind in great calmes, & that along ths coast, thought good & conuenient although y king of Calicut had abused him sundry waies, that for the necessitie y those that shoulde returne to Calicut, should haue of his friendship and fauour to receiue from thence theyz lading of Spices, to use as it were some friendship with them, since that the king would be gladd therof, in especiall being exalted, did therefore write vnto him a letter in the Arabian tongue,

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tongue, which was penned in that language by Bontaybo, in the which he did craue pardon for the carrieng awaye of those Malabars with him, which was done for no other intent then that they shoulde be as witnessses of that the which he had discouercd, as before hee had sent him woorde. And for that he leste no factorie in Calycu (the which he was so zrie for) was for feare least that the Mores shoulde kill him, which was also the occasion that he was not often times a land. Yet for all that he did not leaue, but woulde bee alwayes at his commaundement, since that the king his Maister woulde be gladd of his friend shippe, and also forzth with woulde sende him in his Fleete greate abundance of all such merchandise as he doth demand for, by the trade that from hence forth hee shoulde haue with the Portingales in his Citie, would redound vnto him great profit. This letter was deliuered vnto one of the Malabars to carry the same a land to the place where it was comad to be deliuered. And afterward he knew by the same was deliuered to þ king of Calicut. Then þ Captaine general going forward in his course, & that along the coast, on the next Thursday after, he fell amongst certeine rocks, with all his Fleete, and from one of them that was inhabited there came forth sundry Pinnaces with men, within the same to sell them Fish, and other victuals. The Captaine Generall did receive them very curteously, who comaunded to give them both shirts and other things, of the which they were verye gladd, wherepon he tooke occasion to aske them whether they woulde be content that there shoulde be erected a marke with a croffe in the same, with the royll armes of Portingale, in token that the Portingals are they friends. And they aunswered that they were contented, and thereby they well knew that we were christians, and so was the marke placed, and since that time it is called El Padron de Sancta Maria. Now to this day by the foresaid name the rocke is called. From hence as soone as the night drew on and that the winde began to blowe of the shoare, the Captaine Generall made saile, and keeping alwaies

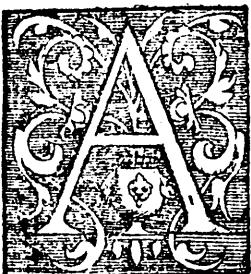
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wayes along the coaste on the Thursdaie after, being the 19. of September hee fell with a godly high lande, and harde to the same theroy laye sixe little Ilandes, and theroy he cam to an Anko, and going a lande to take in water did theroy finde a young man, whch did demand, concerning the Captaine Generall, whether he were a More or a Christian, they aunswered him that hee was a christian. This he did as it was thought with feare, least that they shoulde haue killed him, forzomuch as in that place theroy were no christians. This young man did carrie our men within a certeine riuier, & shewed them most excellent wa-ter the which issued out betweene certeine rocks, and so his paines they gaue him a red night cap. The next morning following theroy came from the land fourre others in a small boate a bord the Captaine Generall, which brought with them to sell many gourds and Colmcombers, and they wer demanded by the Generall whether theroy were in that Countrie any Cynamon or Pepper. They aunswered that there was nothing but Cynamon, and for that he was desirous to see the same, he sent with them two of his men, the Cynamon which at their returne brought w them two greene boughs growning of certeine trees which they doe take to be the same, ex-pecting that thereof theroy was a great groue, howbeit the same was wilde. And at their retourne theroy came with them more then 20. of that Countrie men, which brought to sell hens, gourds, & Colves milke. Also they requested the Captaine Generall to send with them certeine of his men, so that shorly after, they shoulde retourne with greate stoe of drie Cynamon, Hogges, and Hennes, but for all their great offers, he would let none of his men goe, for that hee feared least the same was some treason. The next daye after before dinner, our men going a lande to cut woode somewhat farre of, from the place where they were, fell on a soddeine vpon two Boates, the which laye harde by the shoare side.

The Captaine Generall woulde not immediatly procure to knowe what they were, till it was after dinner,

for then he thought to know the same. And being in a redynesse to depart, did first commaund one of his Marriners to go vp to the top, to see whether that he could discry any other vessels a sea boord or not, who being there tolde him that he had sight of eight great shippes which wer incalmed, with this newes he left his going to see the others, & put himselfe in a readynesse, the winde was in such sorte that it might serue them both, & as they came within two leagues of our flete, the Captaine Generall made toward them. The enimies perciuing that, did immediatly flye toward the shoare And they bearing after this sorte, was broken the wudder of one of the same, by reason whereof those that were within the ship were forced to go in their boats toward the lande. Nicholas Coello who was next to this ship, went immediatly and layde the same abord, thinking indeede to finde in it some greate store of riches, howbbeit there was nothing els but Cocos and Melasus, which is a certaine kunde of sugar made of Palmes or Date trees. Also he founde therein manye bowes, arrowes, swordes, speares and targats, and the other seauen ranne themselues a ground, and soz that our men could not come neere vnto them with their shippes, they followed them in their boats, and from thence did beat them with their ordinaunce, so that their enimies were driven to leaue their shippes, and beynge yet the next day at an Ankor, there came vnto him seauen men of the country in an Almadias, who tolde him that those eight shippes were of Calicut, the which the king had sent soz to take him, as by those that fled away they understood.

How the Captaine Generall went to Ansandina to take in water, & also how he toke there a Moore prisoner, which was seruant to the Lord of the land of Goa called Sabayo, the which was taken for a spie. cap.25.



After that the Captaine Generall was thus informed, he woulde tarrie there no longer, but immediatly came to an Ankor at the Ilande of Ansandina, the which was distant from thence as it were two Gunne sholte, where it was tolde him, there was excellent sweete water. This Iland is but little, and but a league of from the firme land. There are in the same many woods, and also two conduit heads, made of fre^e stone of excellent sweete water, the which are springs and do rise ther, wherof one is sene fote depe. Also in the sea about the sayde Iland is great store of fish. Before that the Mores did use to traficke to the Indias, the same was inhabited by Gentiles, in the which there were goodly buildings, in especiall their Pagodes was a goodly thing. And after that the Mores which came from the red sea began to saile that way, they resorted thither alwayes to take in their water and wood, and did so abuse the inhabitants that they could not wel abide the same, so that they left their dwellings ther, but before their going away, they plucked downe almost all their Pagods, so that they left nothing standing but the verye Chappell, the lyke they did to all other their buildings, yet for all that these Gentiles that wer of the firme land, which belong to the king of Narsingas, had to this Pagode such devotion that from thence they woulde goe sundry times to make in the same their praiers vnto thre black stones that were lieng in the middest of the said Chappell.

The Iland is called Ansandina which in the Malabars language is called the fwe Ilandes, for that rounde about the same there lye the other fourre. The Captaine Generall having come to an Ankor, sent Nicholas Coello with his compayne to discouer the same, who founde it according as afores is declared, and a goodly place or grounde, where they might newe

Ansandina
forsaken
of the in-
habitants

They re-
pair their
ships.

graue their shippes. And for that the Captaine Generall had a great course to run, and also for that he knew not when to finde so conuenient a place, he consulted with the other Captaines to bying their shippes there a ground. The first ship that they brought there a grounde, was the Shippe the which they called Berrio. And whildest they were thus occupied, there came many people to sell them victuals. At which time there came two small Brickettines that hadde out theye Standardes, and flagges in the topes of theye Mastes, and within them theye Trumpettes and Dummies, wherevpon they came playeng, at theye pleasure. In these Brickettines there came manye men, and they all at the Dare, and along the shoare side thers were other ffeue which came to succour them if they shoulde haue anye neede.

The Captaine Generall after that hee hadde sight of them, had warning giuen him by the Malabars to beware of them, for that they were rousers, and vnder a couloure of peace, did robbe all that they coulde take. And after that hee was entered into his shippe, hee perceiued that hee might haue taken them if so bee that hee woulde haue consented to lette them to come aboyde him, but hee woulde not agree to the same. And therefore as soone as they came within Gunne shotte, commaunded all theye Ordinaunce to be shot at them from those two shippes that were a floate. They fearing this shott, gaue out a lowde voice crieng, Tambarane, Tambarane, for so they doe call God, and with this often shooting they fledde theye way.

Nicholas Coello being as then in his Boate, went after them alwayes shooting his Ordinaunce, who pursued them so farre that the Captaine Generall was driven to put vp his Flagge for a signe hee shoulde retourne, and so he did.

The next day after the Captaine Generall with all his men beeing a land, working vpon the ship called Berrio, there came in two little Paraoes to the number of twelue men of the Countrey, the which in their apparel seemed to bee of some

some countenaunce, who brought for a present a bundell of Sugar Canes, and immediately as soone as they had deliuered the same, they asked license to goe aboyd and to see the shippes, for that they never saw any before. The Captaine generall was greatly offendred with this their request, for by that he feared least that they were spies: and whildest they were in this talke, there came thether other two Paraoes, with as many moxe men. Those that came first, seeing that the Captaine generall was somewhat growen in cholar, did will those that came afterward, not to come a lande but to returne againe. The ship Berrio being made in a redinesse, & afterward that the Generalls ship was brought a ground to be new rigged, and hauing a lande about hir, all the other Captaines, there came a man in a little Parao, whc seemed to be of the age of fortie yeares, and not of that Countrey, for that he had vpon him a Sabaco of fine Cotten, which reached downe to his heeles, and about his head a tocke or towell, whch also couered part of his face, and at his gyrdell a Falchin or Skeyne. And assoone as he leapt a lande, he went immediately to imbrace the Captaine generall as one that had scene him or knownen him before, and after the selfe same soyle he vled the other Captaines, telling them that he was a Christian, and borne in Italy, and that hee was brought into that Countrey of a childe, and that his dwelling was with a Noble man that was a Moore, called Sabayo the which was Lord of a certaine Iland called Goa, lieng about twelue leagues from thence, and had forty thousand horsemen within the sayd Iland. And for that his habitation was amongst the Moors, he obserued their lawe, howbeit it was but for an outward shew, but inwardly in his soule he was a Christian: and being in Sabayos house it was tolde him, that there was come by Sea to Calycut certaine men in shippes, wherof there was never scene y like in the Indias, and that there were none that understoode their language, and also that their bodies were couered over with cloathes. And when he had vnderstanding of the same, he immediately indged them to be Frangnes, for so R. iii. they

Sugar
Canes
growing
there.

they do call those that are Christians in that Countrey, and for that he was desirous to see them, had therefore asked licence of Sabayo, saing that if so be that he woulde not give him license to goe and see them, that he knewe verye well that he shoulde dye with very thought and anger: by reason whereof he gaue him license, by whome he sent them word, that if so be that there were in his Countrey anye thing vpon they had neede of, they shuld haue the same, in especiall shippes and victualles. And moreover, if they woulde come and dwell in his Countrey, he woulde be very gladde therof, and woulde giue both them and theirs sufficient lyving, with the which they shoulde liue very honourably.

After that he had ended thus his talke, the Captaine generall as ked him particularly for the Countrey of Sabayo, and other things: Wherevpon he requested of the Captaine generall a chesse for to sende to a companion of his, which remained in the firme Lande, for that it was agreed betweene them, that if so be that he were well entertained, that he woulde sende vnto him a token in signe therof. This kinde of dealing made the Captaine generall suspect him, notwithstanding, he commaunded a chesse to be giuen him, and also two newe loaues, the which he sent to his companion as aforesaide, and he remained alwayes talking with the Captaine Generall: His talke was so much, that some times hee discouered himselfe to bee a spye.

Paulo de la Gama, which noted the same, asked of certaine countrey men what hee was, and they vp and tolde him, that he was a Rouser, and that he had laide aborde other shippes, which had bene there brought a grounde before that time. The Captaine Generall being therof informed, commaunded him to be carried aborde his shipp, which was then a grounde, and there he commaunded him to bee well whipped to confesse, whether that all or anye parte of the same was true that hee had tolde him, and also what he meant by his comming therer, and whether he were a Spore or a Christian, who

answering that he was a Christian as he had said before, al the rest he denied, & therefore the General sought one other moare cruell torment then whipping, which was by hanging of him vp by his members by a pulley, to hoist him vp and downe: and by the great paine which he suffered there, he requested to be let downe, for that as then he woulde tell him the truth: and being come downe, he declared that he was a spye, and was sent thether, to discouer how manye men the Captaine generall had, and what weapons, so somuch as he was ill beloued along all that Coast, because he was a Christian. And that there were manye Atalayas or fortys placed in every Baye or Riecke to set vpon him: A kinde of boates so called howbeit they durst not vntill such time as there came the other other fortie great Vessells, which were a making in a readinesse for to toyne with those that are armed, and so to set vpon him, and to take him: and therefore in the meane space he was sent to knowe what he layd, he affirmed also, that he knewe not certainelye, when those fortie shippes woulde come. This much he declared after that he had receiued thre or fourre tormentis: all the rest they understood by conjectures, for somuch as he did not particularly declare the same.

The Captaine generall seeing that he would declare no more, was contented with the advice he had giuen him, and commaunded him to prison vnder the hatches, for to carrie with him vnto Portingale: also to be cured verye well, and to giue him some refreshing of victualles. Afterward he tolde him that he did not minde to keepe him prisoner to haue him as his Captaine, but to carie him vnto the King his Master, to the ende he might tell him some newes of the Indias, knowing verye well that he woulde rewarde him. Now the Captaine generall haing knowledge of the comming of his enimies, woulde therefore tarrie no longer then whilst his shipp was new dressing, the which was done in ten dayes.

At this instant the Captaine generall was offered for the shipp, the which shipp he had taken of the eight, that did

A notable
counterfeite
discouered

A kinde
of boates
so called

did set vpon him a thousand farrors, but he wold not take it, saing that he wold not sell any thing y was his enimies, but commaunded the same to be burnt. The Captaine Generalls shipp being ready and the water being taken in , hee immideately departed vpon the fift daye of October, and going a Sea bord, about a two hundred leagues from that Iland, then the Mare which he caried with him as prisoner, seeing there was no other remedie, laid, that now he wold tell him the truthe how that indeed he did dwell with the Sabayo, to whom word was brought that the Captain general went wandring vpon the Seas, as one that knewe not wher he was, and therefore there was in preparing a great flote soz to take him . The Sabayo hauing notice thereof, commaunded him to goe thether to visite him, and to marke how they went, and also to see whether that hee could bring them to Goa, which if so be that he could bring to passe, he wold as then laye hand vpon them, soz that the same went that they were valyaunt, and so meant to kepe them to make warres against other Kings his next neighbours. These newes the Captain General was glad to heare of , and gaue him from thenceforth better entertainment, & allowed him both apparell and also money, & afterward he was made a Christian, to whom he gaue soz name Gaspar, in honour of one of the thre Kings, called Magus of that name, and soz that the Captain general was his God father, he gaue him the title of his surname, and so euer after he was called Gaspar de la Gamas.

A Moore
christened

¶ How the Captain general went forwarde
on his Voyage towarde Mylynde , and of
the great troubles he past , vntill such time
as he came thether. Chap.26.

Follwing



Following from hence his course towards Mylynde , whether hee was minded to returne to take in there an Embassadour , he went alwayes in cruell stormes, which the Captain general continually indured, until such time he had entered the goulfe, & hauing alwayes the winde right against him , it was the occasion that the shippes made but small way, and therefore it was the longer time before he entered the gulf. But after that he was entered within the same, he was again troubled with great calmes, which on the Sea is very troublesome, not only for the governing of their shippes, but also with the heat, which is more hurtfull vpon the sea, then vpon the land, soz that ther is no couering to defend the Sunne, whereon with the same on-
ly men are stiffeled vp, as hath bene scene in the voyage to-
ward the Indias. And as I say the winde hauing coursing
thus with the heates, the space of many dayes together, did
afterward returne and breake vp in contrary windes to go
sozward, and very god to goe backward. But the Captain general being loath to go backward, wold yet rather tarie ther wher he was, as indeed he did. And when he perceived that the winde was so great and the Seas went so high , that there was no tarrieng soz him with his shippes, then was he driven of force to kepe the Seas, sometime on this bord, and sometime that, so that both he and his men pas-
sed great troubles, by reason they all had inough to doe to gouerne their shippes. And hoping that after so great stormes there would come faire weather, were driven once more to pray for those great calmes which they had before . And when they sawe that this weather was like to endure ma-
ny dayes, and that their water beganne to sayle them, was the occasion that the Captain General commaunded the same to be deliuered by order.

Men sti-
fled vwith
the Sunne
only.

S.

And

The Conquest

The
Skurfe.

And going in this necessarie, and also with fowle weather, the people began to fall sick with a disease in their gums, as they did in the riuer, De buen's Sennales, when as they went to Calicut, & also their armes and legs did swell, besides other swellings which did rise in their bodyes, by reason of a pestilent stinking humour, which did cast them into a lasske, and of this new infirmitie, there dyed to the number of thirtie persons. And after that they began once to die, and had continued this kinde of weather vpon the Seas, ther arose such a feare amongst those that did remain aliuie, that they fared in the same, as it were men amazed, and beleueyd verely that they shoulde never goo from thence, for that as they thought this kinde of weather was always durable there, and that the same was the cause that it indured so long. The Masters and Pilots of the Fleete were of the lyke opinion, which made the rest beleue it the soner, that by this meanes the crye of all those that were there, as well of them that were sick as of the other, was great, saing that since the weather woulde not serue them to goo from thence, yet they requested him not to be an occasion of their death, but rather consent to returnde vnto Calicut, or els to some other place in the Indias, and beeing ther, to receive what God shuld appoint them, rather then to dye in those seas of so terrible diseases, for which ther was no like lyhode of any remedie, in especiall having lacke of all other things, as of vintuals and wafer, which as then they began to want, by reason that by their long continuancie in the said place was all spent. The Captaine generall saing the great feare that his men were in, and for to animate them the more, sayd vnto them all on this sorte, requesting them to be content, and not to beleue that such weather as was there coursed by them on that sorte, was always lyke to continue, for if so bee that it were so, then there woulde be no Navigation from the Gouph to the Straightes of Meca, nor to Mylynde, nor yet from anye other place, by the which they shoulde passe. And that it was not vni possible, but that they might somewhat digresse from their

of the East India.

their right course, and therefore they met with those calmes and windes which they indured, yet those he saide shoulde haue an ende, and with the same, their troubles woulde lyke-
wise ende.

But for all this, the Harriners woulde not beleue him, for that in this trouble they had continued soure mo-
nethes, and also that there were dead of theye fellowes, thirtie persons: so that there were so fewe of them remay-
ning, that there was not to every ship sixtene persons left to gouerne the same: and of them there were some, that were verye sickle of the disease aboue sayde. By this
meanes they fell into such a desperation, by reason that they thought they shoulde goo no further, and as they doe
affirme, that Paulo de la Gama, and Nicholas Coello, be-
ing both of them Captaines made agreement each of them
in theye shippes to the other, that if so bee that there
woulde come anye Winde, by the which they might
returnde into the Indias, that then they woulde surely
do so.

Being thus determined, vpon a sodayne there
came a fresh gale of Winde, with the which the Fleete
wught goo forwarde, and with the same in sixtene dayes
they came within sight of lande, beeing on a Wednesday
the seconde of Februarie: at the which the Harriners re-
joyced in such sort that by meanes of the same, they had
forgotten theye troubles and daungers that they were
past, and gaue vnto God great thankes for all his gra-
cious benefites.

And when that they hadde sight of the Lande, they
founde themselves so neere vnto it, that the Captaine ge-
nerall gaue commandement to cast about into the Sea,
so much as might bee thought sufficient for to staye vntill
the morning, the which beeing come, they went forth-
with for to reknowle the Lande, and for to see where
they were, for that as now there was none that knewe
the same, although that one of the Mores sayde, that
they hadde then taken theye Course directelye towardes

A vrofull
monthe

The Conquest

The Citie
of Maga-
doxo.

Monsanbique, which standeth betwene certaine Ilandes, standing ouer against them, thre hundred leagues of the shōre, whereas the people of the same Countrey are continually sicke of the same disease, that our men were. The morning being come he went to reknowle the land, and came before a godly great Citie, which was walled round about and within the same, very faire and high houses, and in the midst of the same there was a great Pallacie, which stood very high, and seemed to be of a godly building, all this they saw very well out of their ships. This Citie is called Magadoxo, which standeth at the ende of the said goule in the Coast of Aethiopia, a hundred & thirtene leagues from Mylynde, the situation whereof I shall declare hereafter. And for that the Captaine generall knew the same to bee a Citie of Mores, when as hee went along the Coast, hee commaunded to shote of manye p̄ces of Ordinaunce, and also for that he coulde not tell how farre hee was from Mylynde, from thence forward he stayed in the night, because he would not passe the same. Forthwith, on Saturday being the fifth of Februarie, lieng ouer against a village of the Mores, which they call Pate, being a hundred and thre leagues from Magadoxo, there came from thence eight Terradas which is a certaine kinde of Boates of that Countrey, being all full of Souldiours, and made theyr ingye straight towarde our Flēte, from whence we shot so manye p̄ces of Ordinaunce, that they thought themselves happy to haue escaped by running awaie. Howbeit our men did not followe them for lacke of windē. The next Mundaye following, the Generall arriued at Mylynde, and beeing there, the King sent to visite the Captaine Generall with sundrye fresh victuals, sending him wod also, how glad hee was of his comming. The Generall answered him againe, by Fernan Martines, by whome hee sent him a Present: and for because of those that were sicke, whome hee was desirous to haue cured, hee farryed there firs dayes, in the which time, there died of them many.

At

of the East India.

At this present by the kings license, he caused to be set a land a marke, in token of friendship. And after that he had prouided himselfe of victuals, he departed on a wednesday in the morning, beeing the viii. of Februarie, with an Embassadour whome the king did sende, to the king of Portingale, for a perpetuall confirmation of friendshippē betwene them.

Of the death of the Captaine Generalls brother, and of the burning of one of the shippes called Saint Raphael, & also how he arriued in Portingale, and of the honour the king gaue him at their meeting. cap. 27.



Now for that the Captaine Generall had not men inough to gourne the whole Flēte, he thought god and that by the aduise of the other Captaines, to burne one of those shippes, and that the same should be Saint Raphael, which they determined to doe the rather, forasmuch as the same was al open, and they had not brought him a grounde as they did the others, and also determined to burne the same vpon the shoels of Saint Raphael, vnto which place they came on the Sunday following, where (what for taking in of her furniture, as also for burning the same) he spent fve daies, and during that time from a village the which is called Tangata, there were brought to sell many hens. This being done the Captaine Generall departed, haing with him in his shipp his brother called Paulo de la Gama, and on the xx. of Februarie he found himselfe with onely Nicholas Coello in the Iland of Zenziber, which standeth in the altitude of sixe degress, lieng but ten leagues from the firme land. This Iland is verye greate with the other two that standeth neare vnto it, whereof the one is called Pemba, and the other Mofya, and are verye fertill, and haue in them great store of victuals. Their groves are of Drenge trees,

The Ra-
phael
burned.

The Ile
of Zenzi-
ber.

tres, which bringeth with godly Dresges. They are inhabited by Moyses, which are but a weake kinde of people, and they haue but small store of weapons; howbeit they goe very well apparellled, in silke and fine cloath made of Cotten; the which they doe buye in Monbassa, of Merchants of Cambayo. The women haue store of jewells of golde from Sofala, and of siluer from the Iland of Saint Latence. They are merchants & their trade is in the firme land, and therethen they do carry victuals to sell in little boats. Each of these Ilands bath a king of himselfe, the which also doe obserue Mahometes lawe as all the rest of the subiectes doe.

As soone as the king of Zenziber hearde that the Captaine Generall was there arrived, he sent to visit him and sent him great presents of the fruits of the country, requesting him of his friendship, to the which he agreed. After all this he departed on the first of March, and came to an Ankor before the Ilands of Saint George in Monsanbique, and the next day after he sent a marke to be erected within that Ilande, where at his going therethen he heard Mass, & without any conuersation with those of Monsanbique he departed. And on the third of March he came to the Iland of Saint Blas, where he stayed to take in his water, and to victuall himselfe of Sea woulfes, and of Solitaris, which they salted to eate whilist they were on the sea, and for the same they gaue God great thanks. After that they were departed from thence (being once before putte back with westerly winds) which blew right against them, God of his godnes sent them so prosperous & winds, that on the twentieth of March, they hadde doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with great pleasure, forsomuch as all those that came therethen were all in health and verie strong, and as they thought were all in god liking to arrive at Lishborne.

And finding here a colde winde which endured well twentye dayes, did set them in a god forwardnesse to warde the Ilande of santiago, which by theyr Sea cardes was

was by the Pilots we known not to bee at the uttermost a hundred leagues from thence. Some there were that thought themselves to bee with the same, but it was not so.

Here that godly and fayre winde did faile them, and forsomuch as the Captaine Generall would needes knowe where that he was, (for that he coulde not tell) by reason there fell certeine shoures which came from the landewarde, he commaunded to make as much waye as they coulde possible. And going after this sorte, on Thursdays being the xxv. of Aprill, he commaunded the Pilot to let fall his Plommet, who founde that they were in xxv. fathome.

Yet in all that daye, sailing and keeping the selfe same course, the least water that they came to, was at xx. fathome, and therefore the Pilotes iudged themselves to bee vpon the shoels Del zio Grands. All the rest of this voyage particularlye what aduentures the Captaine Generall did passe, vntill such tyme as he came to the Ilande of Santiago, I coulde not come to the knowledge thereof, but only how that as they went neare to the same, Nicholas Coello to carry the king newes of this discouerie, did on a certeine night a parte himselfe from the Captaine Generall, and followed his course into Portingale, where he arrived at a place called Cascais on the v. of Iulij, in the years of our Lorde God. 1499. who informed the king of all that the Captaine Generall hadde passe in the discouerie of the Indias, and of the commodityes that he had brought with him from thence. Of whose discouerie the king was so gladde to heare of, and that they myght trade into the Indias by sea, as when he was proclamed king of the kingdomes of Portingale. Now after that the Captaine Generall founde missing Nicholas Coello he went forwards on his course towarde the Ilande of Santiago, for because his shipp was verie sickle of a tyllie, and also for that his shipp made but small waye, for that shes was all open, and therefore he

did draught there a Carnell which he found there for to rade
rye hit to Portingale before that he shold dye, who left
there John de Sala for Captaine of his ship as I sayd be-
fore, who as soone as the ship was new rigged, had charge
to bring the same to Portingale, from the which place the
Generall departed, with his brother in the Carnell, whose
infirmitie did dayly increase, in such sort that the Captaine
Generall was driven to beare with the Hand of the Fer-
ceras. And beeing there arrived, commaunded that his bro-
ther might be brought a lande, where he was so cruellye
handled with his disease that he dyed thereof, who at his
end shewed himselfe to be a god and perfect christian, and
a very honest Gentleman. After that he was dead and bu-
ried, the Captaine Generall departed toward Portingale,
who came to Belea in the moneth of September, in the
selfe same yere, 1499. being two yere & two moneths past
after his departure fro Lishborne, with 108. men & of them
came backe but fiftie alive, whiche considering they great
trauaile and trouble that they had past, was verye much.
After that the Captaine Generall had givien God greate
thanks for that he had escaped so many greate daungers, he
sent word of his arriuall vnto the king of Portingale, who
for the great pleasure that he received of his comming sent
Don Diego de la Silua de Menclis, Lord of Portugalete,
with many other Gentlemen to receiue him as they did, &
brought him vnto y court w an exceeding great number of
people; that came thither to see so new & rare a matter, as
that was of y Captaine Generall, not only for that he had
done, but also for that they tooke him for dead: beeing come
to the kings presence, his highnesse gave him so great an
honour as such a one deserved, who by the discouerie of the
Indias, did gitt so great a glorie vnto the eternall God,
and honour and profit to the crowne and kingdom of Por-
tingale, and a perpetuall fame to all the wold. Afterward
he made him knight, & to him and to his heires for ever he
gave for armes the royal armes of Portingale, & also to set
at the fote of the Southin two Does the whiche they call

Gamas,

Gamas. Also he gaue him towarde this his living thre
hundred thousand Reis a yere, the whiche may be worth of
our money 200. pound a yere, and this to be payed out
of the tiths of the fish in the village of Sinis. Moreouer he
promised him to make him Lord of the said village, soz-
much as he was borne there. And vntill such time that he
could giue him y same, he allowed him a thousand crowns
a yere, the whiche he did well perfourme, from that time
forwarde, and after that he had received the possession ther-
of, he did passe it ouer vnto the house appointed, for the con-
traction of the Indias. Moreouer he graunted him that af-
ter the trade of the Indias was settled or established, that
then he might lade for his own account to the sum of 200.
Duckats in splices, & that without payeng for the same any
customie at all. Also he gaue him other possessions & rents
and a bill of remembraunce to make him Lorde. As soz
Nicholas Coello, he made him a Gentleman of his house,
and gaue him possessions, and did alowe him some recom-
pence toward his charges. The king himselfe with this
new discouerie did increase his titles with a newe and a
famous stile, of Lorde of the conquest and nauigation of
Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of the Indias.

How the king of Portingale did nominate A pe-
dro al Verez Cabral for Captaine Generall of
a Fleete towarde Calicut, for to settle there a
factorie, and of his departure from Lishborne,
Chap. 28.



Being certainye knowne to the king of
Portingale, that from his kingdome there
is a nauigation to the Indias, and also of
the innumerable riches, & that ther are in
those parts among the Gentiles, sundrye
Christians, did therfore determine to pro-
secute and followe the discouerys of the same, giuing all
praise and laude vnto the eternall God, for his great bene-
T. fits

The pre-
paration
vnto y se-
cond vol-
age.

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sets that he hath bestowed vpon him, to let him be the first that hath discouered this new worlde, the which hath alwayes bene so close vpon the See, that there hath bene none in all Europe that durst aduenture that waye. But hee not remembryng the trouble of his spirite, neyther yet the spending of his treasure, nor the daunger of his subiects, woulde neverthelesse take this most famous enterprise in hande, for that there might bee in the Indias publyshed the Euangelicall lawe, to the ende that thole kinde of lost people, might receive the same, as also for the increasing, not onelye of his owne treasure, but generallye the benefite of all his subiects.

And that the same might take the better effect, hee determined to giue the attempt (if it were possible) to settle a Factorye in Calycut by gentlenesse, for as hee once vnderstoode that the dwellers in the same were inclined to trade, he thought that after this sort there wold grow betwene them and vs conuersation, and so a friendshipp, the which might bee an occasion that they woulde incline themselues to heare the wozde of God preached. And beeing thus fullye determined, hee commaunded to bee in a readinesse against the next yeare following, a Fleete of ten shippes and two Caruellis, which shoulde goe well laden with all such thinges as Vasco de la Gama shoulde informe him to bee spent in Calycut. Also there went others towarde Sofala and Quyloa, where also hee commaunded certeine Factoryes to bee setteled, not onelye for the golde which they haue there, but also that they shippes might alwayes touch there. And concerning such as shoulde bee appointed for Calycut, he named for Captaine Generall of this Fleete, a Gentleman called Pedro Aluares Cabral, who came of an honourable house of the Cabrals, and for his peticie Captaine, a Gentleman called Sancho de Toar. The names of the other Captaines as manye as I knewe were these, Nicholus Coello, Don Luis continuo, Simon de Myseranda, simon Leyton, Bartholome Dyas, who discouered the Cape Buena Esperansa, Dyego Dyas,

The names of the Generall Captaines, & Factors.

his

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his brother, y which went before for purser with Vasco de la Gama. Those that wer Captaines of y Caruels were one Pedro de Taide, and Vasco de la Siluera, and for Factor of the whole Fleete, was one Aries Correa, who lykewells shoulde remaine for Factor in Calycut, and for his clarkes there were appointed one named Gonsalo Gyl Barbasa, & Pedro vas Caninon. Of this Fleete there shoulde remaine and staine with the Merchants and Merchaundise in Sofala two shippes, and with the same shoulde continue for Factor one called Loriso Hurdato. In this Fleete ther went 1500. men. The Articles which the Captaine Generall carryed in his instructions, besides those of the settling of the Factory was, y if so be y the king of Calycut would not quietlye consent, or giue sufficient lading, for those shippes which he carried nor consent to haue the factorie settled there: That then he should make him most cruell war, for the iniury which he shewed vnto Vasco de la Gama. And if so bee that the Factorie might be quietlye setteled, then he should request the king in secret that he doe not consent in Calycut, or in anye other of his harbours belonging to his kingdome, any of the Moors of Mecca to remaine ther, forsonich as hee would send him from hence forth all such Merchaundise as they doe bring, and that farrre better cheap then they doe sell the same. Moreouer, that in theyr waye they doe touch at Milinde to set ther a land the Embassador, which Vasco de la Gama brought from thence, and to sende the king a present. Also the king did send with the Fleete fwe Friers of the order of Saint Fraunces, of whome went for Elcar, a Frier called Fraij Henrique, the which was afterward Bishop of Sichta, and he to remaine in the Factorie, to preach the Catholike faith vnto the Malabars.

Friers sent to the Malabars.

The Fleete beynge dispatched, the king in person on Sunday being the viii. of March went to heare Mass at the Monasterie of Belem, going therer in Procescion, hauing the Captaine Generall, the which heard Mass with him, with in the curten, for on that sort, he ment to giue honour to such as did serue him in such daungerous affaires as this was.

L.ii. The

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A iewell
of great
price.

The Mass was said after the Portingale order, and at the same there was a Sermon made by Don Diego Ortis, who was then Bishop of Vyseu, who gaue great praise vnto the Captaine Generall for accepting the saide boiage at the kings hands, since that therby he did not onely serue the king, who is his temporall Lord, but also the eternall God, who is spirituall. And also that euery one might wel know that none of all the nobles, the which are so highlye commended as well in the Grecian histories as in the Latine and barbarous, was equall vnto the Captaine Generall in taking vpon him this voyage. And further he gaue him other greate prayses for the which hee was entayled at the Mass being ended, there was a Banner which had the royll armes of Portingale, vpon the same deliuerned vnto the Bishop, who after that hee had blessed the same, the king with his owne hand did deliuern it vnto the Captaine Generall, for to bestowe it in his maine toppe. And after that hee had receiued the same, he tooke at the Bishops hands a bonnet or night cap the which the Pope had blest, and sent for a great iewell, and with his owne hands did put the same on the Captaine Generalls head, sayeng that he did present vnto him a iewell the which he did much esteeme. And afterward that the Bishop had giuen him his blessing, the king with the same did accompanie him to the water side, where the Captaine generall with al the Captaines of the flete tooke their leaue of the king, and did kisse his hands, and the king gaue them Gods blessing & his, with the which they went all a boorde, from whence they shot off all the ordinance that was in the flete, the which made a wonderfull noise. The king being returned to Lishboone, for that the flete could not that daye depart, by reason of the weather. The next daye which was the ninth of March, in the yere of our Lord 1500. hauing a sufficient god gale of winde, with the which the flete might goe out of the Riuere. The Captaine Generall did then make a signe that the rest of the flete shoulde weye their Ankoz, the which immediatlye they did

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did begin with great diligence and triumph that the Mariners made. And when it was eight of the clocke in y mornynge the whole flete hauing wayed, did then begin to cut and spread their sayles with a great pleasure, and erie saing altogether, Buen viage, that is to say, A luckie and prosperous voyage. After all this they beganne all to be ioyfull, euerye man to use his seuerall office, the Gunner in the midle of the ship, haling the maire shotes, with the Capsteine. The Mariners and ship boyes, some in the forecastle haling bollings, braces, and Martnets: other belyng the shotes both great and small, and also seruynge in trimming the sayles, and others the nettings and foxtop sayles, other some bering the trusses and also belyng braces and toppe sayle shotes, and coylling every sort of ropes. It was wonderfull to see such a number of diuersities of offices, in so small a roome, as is the bredth and length of a ship. All the flete being vnder sayle, departed that daye without anye stay by a quarter winde, and beeing with the same vnder sayle, on the xiiij. of March, they came within the sight of the Canarias, and on the xviij. of the same moneth, they pass by the Iland called Santiago, and on the xxvij. of the same moneth, they lost the company of one of their shippes, of the which went for Captaine one Vasco de Tayde, who was Captaine of the flete also, although he never declared the same, the which never after was seene.

¶ How the Captaine generall came vnto Brasill, and afterward how there was lost foure shippes of the flete. Chap. 29.



His ship being thus gone, the Captaine generall tarried for the same two dayes, and on the xxvij. of Aprill they did desry land, of the which they were verye glad, not only for that they had discouered the same, but because that the Pilots supposed the same

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A new
land dis-
covered.

same to be some other land, that Vasco de la Gama had not discouered, for that it stode to the East, and immediatly the Captaine Generall commaunded his Master to goe in his small boate and to see what kunde of people were those that dwelt in the sayd Countrey, who retourned with an answere, saing, that the same lande was a godly sayre and fertill Countrey, in the which there were great stoe of woodes, and that there walked many men along the water side: with this newnes, the Captaine generall came to an Ankor, & sent once more his Master with great diligencie to informe himselfe of the Countrey and of their dwelings, and found that the people were of colour somewhat blacke, and men well proportioned, howbeit they went all naked, having both bowes and arrowes. But when night was come, there fell so great a worme that the Captaine generall with all the rest of the flote, were faine to wey theyr Ankors, and runne along the Coast, vntill such time as they found a god Port, in the which they came to an Ankor, vntill the which the Captains generall did giue for name, Puerto Seguro, for somuch as the same serued for all wethers. Here our men tooke two men of that Countrey, the which went in an Almaldia, who were brought before the Captaine generall, that he might informe himselfe what Countrey that was, which could not be known notwithstanding, for somuch as there was none in all the flote that could understand them, by any tokenes or signes. The Captaine general seeing y ther was no meanes for to informe himselfe by thē, commanding to giue them apparell, y the others might be desirous to bring the viciuals to sel, w other things which they had in their country, & with this they went their way, w great ioy of y Captain generals gift. And when they were come aland amongst their compaines, & they perceiued their god entertainment, did aduenture to come to conferre with our men. The Captain general finding himselfe indifferently in this country, did desernis to take in fresh water to cōfort his men wāl, for y he knew not when he shuld chance w like oppozunitie. And for y God might y rather aid thē,

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he commanded on y next day, which was on Easter weke, a Mass shuld be said a land, y which was so done w great solemnitie & that vnder a pavillion, in which ther was made a Sermon by Fraij Henrique, Doctor of Divinitie. And whilste y divine seruice was a celebrating, there assembled many of y country people together, which shewed theselues to be very merry w plaieng & leaping which they made, besides their sounding vpon cornets, horns, & other instruments. After Mass was ended, & that y Captaine generall was going a ship boord, these people went w him vntill he tooke his boat, singing & making a thousand maner of pastimes: this day after dinner, y Captain general gaue our men licence to go a land to buy & sell w them, which they did, & in truck of paper & cloth they gaue them parrats, & other sundry sort of birds, which were all very faire, wherof they haue great abundance, with the which they make fethered hats & night caps, which are very gallant. Some of our men y went to see their townes do declare y the same is a godly country & fertill of woodes, w great stoe of godly waters, & plentie of fruits, & that ther is gathered in y same gret quantitie of coten. And for y this country is y which we cal Brasil, which to all men is common, I will not speake of y same further, but only y in viii daies that y Captaine generall staid ther, was seene a fish which y sea did cast a land, y was greater then any Tonel, & of y breadth of two of thē, howbeit he was round: y head & eyes were much like unto a hogs, his eares like unto an Elephants, he had no teeth, but vnder his belly he had two isses, his taile was thre quarters of a yard in breadth, & as much in length, his skinne, was lyke unto a Hogges skinne, which was a finger thicke. In this Lande the Captaine generall commaunded to be erected a high Crosse of stone, and therfore he gaue the same to name La tierra de Santa Crus. From hence he sent a Carnell which he brought forth with him for the same purpose, with letters unto the King his Lorde, of all that which had chaunced him unto this place, and how that he had left there two bannished men of those twentie, the which

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of Parrats
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The cou-
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Brasil dis-
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The conquest

A Comet
seen in
the elemēt

he carried with him, to the ende they myght better enforme themselves what Countrey that same was, and whether it were a firme lande, as it did appere vnto them all, by the great distaunce of the Coast that they had found, and because of the great voyage whiche he had taken in hande to make, he could not send to know perfectly. With this Caruell he sent a man of that Countrey for a shew, by what kinde of people the same was inhabited. This Carnell being departed, the next day after being the second day of May, the Captain generall departed with all his Fleete, bearing his course toward the Cape Buena esperansa, the which was from thence almost 1200. leagues, which is a great and fearefull gulph to passe, by reason of the great windes which doe course in those partes, most of the time. And being vnder sayle in the same, on the xii. of Maye there appeared in the Element a great Comet with hir beames, the which came out of the Orient, and for the space of x. dayes did alwayes appeare as well in the night as in the daye, alwayes inlarging his beames. On Saterday being the xiii. of May, there came amongst all the Fleete such a storne from the North-east, that all the Fleete was faine to take in their sayles, hauing the Seas very high mingled with pretie showers of raine. And for that the same storne was afterwarde somewhat abated, they brought themselves vnder their foresailes againe, and at night the winde being altogether calme, such shys as wer left behynd, did spred out also their sprit saile, to ouertake those þ went before. And going by a quarter wind, following their course by the South, the sunday being the xiv. of May, the winde beganne to increase, which was the occasion that the Captaine generall commanded their sailes to be taken in, and to fardle vp their sprits sailes, the which being done, the like did all the other Captaines, and going on this sorte on Sunday, betweene x. and xi. of the clocke of the day, did begin to arme in the Northwest a shrowde, with the which the winde calmed in such sorte, that the sailes did beate against the Mast, and the Pilots being (not as yet acquainted with the secret signification of a shrowde) for that they

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they had not trauayled those Seas, thought the same to bee a signe of faire weather, and of great calmes: by reason whereof, they never made any kinde of alteration in anye thing, appertaining to their sayles. Upon this on a Sundaye, there came such a winde and so furious, that then they had no time to amayne and take in theye sayles, by reason whereof, there were foure Shippes sunke without escaping one person of them all, and of one of these was Captayne one Bartholomew Dias. The other seauen remayned halse full of water, which they had taken in, which lykewile had sunke, if so be that parte of theye sayles had not bene torne.

four shys
sunke by
tempest,

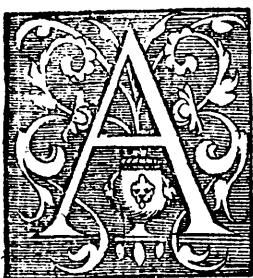
And after that the winde verred to the Southwest they bare with the same, the which was so great that they were driven to roue all that daye and the next night following without sailes, so that the one could not see the other, & howsoever as yet the returne of any other wind was not come, they were driven to such daunger that they thought thereby they shold lose their liues, for somuch as the rest of the Fleete was so cast away before their eyes, wherewith they were stroken into a very great penitucelle. The next day the winde being somewhat incalmed, with the same the Fleete did ioyne themselves together againe, and immediatly after, the winde came to the East and Northeast, which was so great that it made the Seas to goe higher then ever they did before, and so the same endured the space of x. dayes: and all this time the shippes laye a hull, although they proued fiftimes to hoyle vp their sayles, as aforesaid. Now the Seas went so high to all theye iudgements, they thought it vnpossible for the shippes to escape: for ouer and besides that, by the working of them it was thought, that sometime they did hoyle vp theye shippes aboue the Element, and other times when the shippes began to descend, they fell as it were downe a monstrous hill, that they feared they shold be all swallowed vp in the Intralles of the Earth.

In the daye the water was of the colour of pitch, and

A vroder
foul storne
and great
Seas.

in the night of fire. The tackling with the other furniture of the Shippes, with the great force of the winde, made such a terrible noyse, and was so fearefull to heare, that the same is incredible to be beleuued, but by those onelye that endured and passed the same, with the force of this, the Fleete was separated into sundry places. The Cap- taine Generall bare vp with Symon de Myranda, and Pe- dro de Tayde, whether the winde would carry them; all the others went at Gods mercie.

Of the meeting of the King of Quiloa & the Cap- taine generall, at which time there was set downe a Trade and Factorie, and how the King repen- ted himselfe of the same afterward. Cap.30.



After that the Captaine Generall had past with parte of his Fleete, these great stormes didde finde him selfe to haue doubled the Cape, without anye sight of the same, ha- uing in his company no more then two Shippes, which bare alwayes vp with him. And the Lorde ha- uing vled alwaies towardes them his wonderfull great mercie, he came within sight of the lande the sixteenth day of July, towardes the which he com- maunded to beare, howbeit the Pilots did not knowe the same, notwithstanding they found that it stode in the alti- tude of xxvii. degrees, they were so neare unto lande, that the Shippes laye with their beake heads close to the same. But the Captaine generall would not consent that anye of his men shoulde goe a lande: yet from their Shippes they might easilie perceiue, that the same was well inhabited,

fo

for the great number of people they did see there, and yet of all those there came none to the water side, to see what we were.

After that he sawe that there was no hope to haue anye refreshing from thence, he did afterwarde procure the same from the Sea, where there was great plentie of fish, where our men was driven to fish for it. Afterwarde the Captaine generall commaunded to weye their Ankors, and to followe his course, so neare vnto the shor, that he might well see great numbers and stoe of sundrye beastes, which fed along the Riuier, that entred into the Sea, and also they sawe many people.

Now going on that soi, the Captaine generall did passe unto Sofala, with the which as yet the Pilot was not ac- quainted, and being neare to the same, he sawe two I- landes and right ouer against one of them there was ri- ding at an Ankor two Shippes, which as soone as they had discouered our Fleete, did beginne to flye awaie to- warde the shor. And for that the Captaine generall sawe that they fledde, he commaunded to followe them, which was done in such soi that our men did overtake them, and tooke some of them prisoners, for that they did not defende themselves, and concerning the chiefe person that was in these Shippes, the Captaine Generall was aduertised that he was the King of Mylyndes neare his man, and was going from Sofala laden with Golde to Mylynde. Who confessed, that when they had deserued our Shippes, they received such a feare, as though they shoulde bee taken, and that therefore they did thralle the most part of theyz Golde into the Sea, and they themselves ranne a lande.

After that all this was done, y Captaine generall told him that he was very soray for theyz so great mischance & losse, in especially for so much as the King of Mylynde was in so great a credite with the King of Portingale his Master, which is the occasion, that all Portingales are and shall bee alwayes at his commaundement. And hauing shewed

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to Sofala

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vnto him great courtesie, he commaunded the Shippes to be retourned with all the golde they hadde founde in the same.

The More as ked of him whether he had brought with him any Witches, that they might with words of enchantment fetch vp such golde as was throwen into the Sea. To whom the Captaine generall made auns were, that the Christians doe beleue in the true God, who hath and doth defende them so, that they doe not vse nor beleue in witchcraft, and therefore they do not vse the same. Of this More the Captaine generall was aduertised, that he hadde somewhat ouer riadne Sofala, and for that he would not returne backe, he did at this time leaue it, and hauing diupatched the More, followed his course, and on the xx. of July arrived at Monsanbique, where he tooke in his wafer, and a Pilot to carry him to the Ilande of Quiloa, toward the which he directed his course, running along the Coast. In this his voyaige he saw sundry profitable Islands which were belonging to the King of Quiloa, which as I haue declared is a great Prince, and is Lord from the Cape De las correntes, almost vnto Mombassa, which is welnere four hundred leagues of Coast, in the which there doe enter the two Islands that I haue spoken of before, ouer and besides Sofala, and other sundry Townes vnto Monsanbique, and from thence as many more vnto Mombassa, with an infinit number of Ilandes, that doth yeld him great rents. Notwithstanding as touching his estate it is but small, for he is not able to make many men of warre: his abode is alwayes in Quiloa, in a certaine Ilande, which is a hundred leagues beyond Monsanbique in the Coast of Aethiopia, nere to the firme lande, the which is verye fertill of Orchardes, and Woods, that beare sundry sortes of fruites, there are excellenth god waters, and also they doe ripe great stoe of Mi-
so, and other seedes which they doe sow, and there is bryd vp in the same great stoe of small Cattell. In these Seas there is great plentie of Fish, and that verye god. So that what with the virtualls that they haue in the lande,

and

The king
of Quiloa
a mightie
Prince.

of the East India.

and what there commeth from other places of the firme land, the Citie is plentifully prouided, which citie is compassed about with faire gardens on the one side, & with the sea on the other, which causeth the same to shew very pleasant, it standeth in ix. degrees to the South, & is also greate and full of people. Their houses are made of lime & stony, in the which there are godly chambers. Their king is a More, and so are the inhabitants, the naturall people of the Countrie are a kinde of blacke people, and those that are strangers are white, their common language is Algarauia. They doe apparell themselves very richly, in especiall the women, for they carry alwaies vpon them great stoe of iewels of gold. They are great Merchants, for their trade is of the gold that commeth from sofala, and from this citie it is dispersed to all the Countrie of Arabia Felix, & other places, and therfore there resort thether many merchants fro other places. Ther are alwaies in this port many ships which lyeth alwayes a ground when they haue no ned of the. These ships haue no nailes, but are sowed together w
ropes made of Cairo, & pitched ouer with wildincense, for because as in all y
country there is no other kind of pitch. The winter in this countrie doth begin in Apill, & maketh an end in September. The Captaine Generall being come to the harbour of this Citie, and hauing obtained of the king a safe conduct that he might send him a messenger, did send vnto him Alonso Hurtado, who went accompanied with seauen of the principals of their ships, and that they might shew themselves in moze countenaunce & authoritie, they went in their best apparell. Being come before the king, he represented vnto him the message which the Captaine Generall gaue him, which was to signifie vnto him y
he was come thether with y
king of Portingale his Maisters flete, to settle a trade in y
citie, & to the same end had brought with him great stoe of merchandise y
were conuenient to be spent in y
country, & therfore he was desirous to talk with him therin, howbeit y
king his master did countermaned him y
in any wise he shuld not leap a

The de-
scriptiō of
the city of
Quiloa.

Shippes
vithout
nailes.

The Conquest

The mee-
ting of
the king &
the Captaine
Generall.

A malici-
ous & fer-
full More

land, but make the agreement a sea boord, sozasmuch as that is the auncient custome which the Captaines doe alwaies obserue in his country, because y if so be ther shuld chance any misfortune to their general, which is their head, immediatly are cast away the rest that are vnder his government. To this the king made answere with a god countenance, y he was also desirous to see the Captaine Generall, and to speake with him a sea boord, since there was no other remedie, Alonso Hurtado having receiued this answere, made y Captaine Generall pruine therof, who y next day after tarryed for y king in his boat, which was couered ouer & set out with flags. There did attred vpon him al the rest of y Captaines in their boates, & at this present arrived there, Sancho de Toar with other two ships. The king thus being looked for, at the length he came in an Almadia, beeing well accompanied with sundrie Gentlemen in other boates, lykewise furnished, which also were set out with flags, and had in them those that sounded vpon trumpets & cornets, & Sagbutts, which made a wonderfull great noise. Now the king being come where the Captaine Generall was tarrying for him, all his ordinance went of in such sort & with such a force, that it made the sea to tremble, wherwith the king and all his traine, sozasmuch as they were not accustomed vnto the same, were greatly afraide. As soone as the ordinance went of, the king & the Captaine Generall met, & that with great pleasure. And after that the king of Portingales letter was read, which was for y setting of a trade in his citie, he answered that he was contented therewith, & did agree that the next day he shold send Alonso Hurtado a land, to tell him the sorte of the merchandisise that he had brought with him, & he wold giue him gold for y same. Upon this agreement Alonso Hurtado was sent a land the next day following, howbeit he found the king far from y whiche was agrēd vpo with y captain general y day before, yelding therfore sundry excuses, why he could not accomplish his promise, in especial for y he had no ned of his merchandisise, & also for y he beleuēd that y Captaine generall came the

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ther to take his country from him. This sodeine chancs was for this cause, sozasmuch as he was a More, and we were christians, it greued him to haue any conuersation or trade with vs. This being come to y Captaine generallis knowledge, he did as yet tarrye thre or fourre dayes, to see whether y the king wold change any thing of his determination or not, howbeit he did nothing alter his mind, but rather had our men in ialousie, fearing least that he shuld be druien to do y by force, which he was loth to do, & therfore did fortifie himselfe with many men in a readinesse. As soone as the Captaine Generall heard of his dealing, he wold spend no more time there, but departed toward Milinde, keping alwaies along the coast.

How the king of Milinde and the Captaine Generall met together, and how hee departed afterward to ward Calicut. Chap. 31.

 Pthe second day of August, he came to an ankoz in the port of Mylinde, where hee found riding at an ankoz thre ships of y Mores y which wer of y Merchants of the kingdome of Cambaya, but he wold not meddle with them, although they were laden w great riches, because of y king of Milinde. Being come with al his fleet to an ankoz, he saluted y citie w all his ordinance. The king with this sent to visit him, sending also vnto him for a present, both sheep, ducks, & hens, wout all number, besides sundrie sorte of fruits. Then y Captain general sent likewise to kisse his hands, by one of his fleet, & also to signifie vnto him, y thether he was come by his Master y king of Portingales comandement, to know whether he had any ned of his fleet to do him seruice walle, & also to certifie him, y he had to deliuer vnto him a rich present, with a letter, the which y King his master had likewise sent vnto him, which he wold send whelsoeuer he wold comand y same, with this message y king shewed himselfe to be wel plesed, & comanded the messenger to remaine with him that night, with whom he talked and spent most part thereof in matters of Portingale.

And

The kings message to the Captaine Generall. And as soone as it was day the king sent by two principall

affaires word vnto the Captaine Generall, that he was very glad of his comming, and also to knowe whether he had neede of anye thing in his countrie which he might command as his owne, and make as much account thereof, while he was there, as if he were in Portingale, considering the greate god will which he doth owe vnto the king of Portingale, and that in all his affaires he shuld make as much reckoning as of his owne home. The Captaine Generall having well vnderstood the kings message, vpon the same determined to send him the kings letter, which he had brought, and also the present, which was all the furniture of a Jennet horse, which was also both rich & gallant. And having taken his counsel vpon y same, it was agreed vpon to send it, and that Aries Correa shoud haue the carriage thereof, for somuch as he was the factor of the whole Fleet, and also for that hee went for Factor to the king of Calicut, and that he shoud so goe accompanied with the principalls of the Fleet, besides the trumpetors, that shoud goe alwaies sounding before him, which was so done. The king being informed of y coming of Aries Correa, sent of the nobles of his Court to receive him, which might the more easilie bee done, for that the kings pallaice was hard by the water side, and going altogether, there were certeine women which by the kings commanagement werearryeng for their comming, with perfuming pans in their hands, out of the which there came so excellent a perfume, that it did replenish the whole earth therewith. And passing after this sorte by these women, hee came to the kings pallaice, who was sitting in his chaire of estate, and accompanied with many noble men & Gentlemen, who also received Aries Correa with great honour and pleasure, and also the present. Afterward he gaue him the letter which was written on both sides, on the one side was Portingale, the other in the Arabian tongue, which the king commanded forst with to be read, which both he and all the nobilitie were very gladd to heare. And all they together with a lowde

voice

voice gaue God and Mahoma great thanks that they had permitted them to haue friendship w so great a Prince as y king of Portingale. And also being very wel pleased with the furniture of the Jenet, he requested Aries Correa to stay with him, whilest the Fleet did there remaine, which with the Captaine Generalls license he did, & during the thre dates that he was with him, almoſt he spent his time in no other thing, but to knowe the vse & custome of the king of Portingale, & of the order of his gouernment, & also perticularly as though y he did remember no other matter all y time, & being desirous to see y Captain general, did procure with as much diligēce as he could to haue him a land, & to bring him to his pallaice, notwithstanding he made his excuse, saing, y the king his master had commanded him not to come a land in any port, with this answere y king was driven to encounter with him vpon the water, who would needs go as far as y water side on horsback, with y furniture of a Jenet y the king of Portingale had sent him. And for y in his country he had none y could tel y order therof, he requested one of our men to do so much. And when the king had all things in a redines, ther wer carrieng for him certain of y principals, at y foot of a staire, & amongst them ther was brought a live shēp, which whilest y king was coming down, they did open as he was aliue, & after y they had taken out his guts & bowels, they laid y same vnder y horse feet. The king being now on horsbacke he went also with his horse vpon y shēpe, which is a kinde of ceremony y the witches ther do vse. After y he had thus troden vpon the shēps, he went toward y water side, with all his company after him a foot, saing w a lowd voice certain words of witchcraft. And after this sorte he met with the Captaine Generall vpon y water, where he deliuered him a piolet to carrie him to Calicut. Here there were leſte with the king two of those banished men that they might enforme themselves of the countrie, as farre as in their strength, one of those was called afterwarde Machado, who after that hee had gotten the Arabian language, went by lande vnto

Paganis
superstitionis

X.

vnto

unto the straights, and from thence unto the kingdome of Cambaya, from whence he did passe to Balagarte, and did there settle himselfe, with the Sabayo, that was Lord of Go, saing, that he was a More, and for the same, he was taken in all that Countrie, this his trauell was very profitable to Alomio de Alburquerque, as you shall perceiue hereafter.

How the Captaine Generall arriued at Calycut, and how the king sent to visit him a boord his ship, and also how afterward he came a land for to see him, and of his receiuing there. Cap. 32.

 The Captaine Generall beeing returned to his ships, departed toward Calycut, being the 7. day of August, & on the 20. he came to Ansadina, wher he staid certeine daies for the comming of the shippes of Mecca, with intent to set vpon the if so be y they came thereth. And whilist they were there, they did confesse themselves, and afterward did receive the Sacrament, And they saing that there came no shippes, departed toward Calycut, and on the 13. of September he came to an ankor within a league of the same. And immediatly there came certeine Almadias toward our flote, to sell victuals, & also there came certein Nayres of y most princpall belonging to y king of Calicut, with a certeine Guzarate merchant, by whom y king sent word vnto y Captaine General, y there could not haue happened a better thing vnto him then to understand y he was come vnto his port, & that he could not do him no better pleasure the to command him, if ther were any thing in his citie y he had need of, & he would accomplish y same with great god wil: wher vnto y Captaine generall made answere with great thanks, & saing y what god will y king sent to visit him, he brought himself to an ankor neare vnto y citie, alwaies shottynge of his ordinance, with y which he did salute the, which was so great a won-

The king
of Cali-
cut mes-
sage to y
Captaine
Generall.

der

der to the dwellers, that those that were Gentiles said, that against vs there were no resistance. The next daye following by the consent of the Captaines of the flote, the Captaine Generall sent by one whose name was Gaspar, to demand a safe conduct of the king for to send a messenger vnto him, sending also with the saide Gaspar those fourre Malabars that Don Vasco de la gama had carried from Calicut. Thele went all apparellled in a gallant sort, after the Portingales order, whom all the citie came forth to see, who meruailed to beholde them to returne so well, which was the cause that they were so well pleased with our men, & that they were had in so great reputation. But for so much as these were but fisher men the king woulde not see the, although he was glad to understand after what so le they returned, & commaunded y the said Gaspar shuld be brought before him, whom he received very well. And after that he knew wherfore he came, answered him, that whosoever of our men woulde come a lande, might without any feare at all. This answere beeing come to y Captaine Generals eares, he sent presently vnto the king Alonso Hurtado, to signifie vnto him y the said fleet belonged to the king of Portingale, of the which he went for Captaine Generall, and that his comming thereth was for no other purpose but onely to settle w him a trade & friendship, for the which it was convenient for him, to talkie with him. Howbeit hee sayde, the king his Maister hadde commaunded him, that he shoulde not doe it, without he might for the assurance of his person, receive some pledges to remaine in the shippes whilist hee was a lande with the king, and that the one of those pledges shoulde be the Catuall of Calicut, and Araxamenoca, the which is one of the principallest Nayres: And another there went with Alonso Hurtado, one that coulde speake the lan-

guage, which shoulde declare vnto the king the effect of the mesage.

The king beeing haeres informed meruailed much to heare that the Captaine general did demand those pledges, he should deliver

The king
of Cali-
cut mes-
sage vwhen
he should
deliver
pledges

which he did excuse to give, so somuch as they were sickly & olde, howbeit he said he would give others that coulde better abide the brauenesse of the sea. But afterwards he did insist very much, not to give any pledges at all, so somuch as those that were Moors were verye sorrie to see our men in Calicut, and gaue the king counsell to lende none, for that in giving of any he might wel iudge therin the Captaine Generall had but little confidence in him, and by this meanes he shoulde remaine dishonoured. Yet for al this Alonso Hurtado did still insist in his demaunde. In this encoutrie they spent thre daies. At the end the king hauing a desire to haue a trade settled with ours, for the benefit that might redound vnto him by the same, did consent to Alonso Hurtado his request, in giving the pledges that were demaunded, which being come to the Captaine Generalls knowledge, he began to make himselfe in a readinesse to goe and speake with the king, and to remaine a land thre or fourre daies, apointing in his place Sancho de Tuar, to whom he gaue commandement that there shuld be made for those pledges at their comming abord god enterainment, and to looke well vnto them, and not to deliuer them to any that shoulde come to demaunde them, althoough they came in his name.

On the xviii. daye of December the Captaine Generall put himselfe in his best apparell, and carried with him thirtie of the principall men of his Fleete, which shoulde remaine with him a lande, with others that were the kings seruauntes, which shoulde attende vpon him as vpon the kings owne person. He commanded also to be carried with him all the furniture for his Chamber and Kitchin, with his Cupborde of Plate, in the which there were many rich peeces of siluer gilded.

Nowe beeing with all these thinges in a readynesse to depart, there came from the Citie sundry principall Nayres, which were commaunded by the king to attende vpon the Captaine Generall, accompanied with many men, besides others that came sounding vpon Trum-
pets,

petts, other vpon Hackbutts and other instrumentes.

The Captaine generall being informed that the King was tarrieng for him in a certaine Galerie, which onely for to receive him in, he had commaunded to be made harde by the water side, toke his boate and went toward the shore, beeing accompanied with all the other boats of h^e Fleete, which went all in god order, and set out with manye flagges and trumpets, which being ioyned together as wel these as those that came from the Citie, made a wonderfull noyse. With this came those pledges abord the Generalls ship, into the which they were loath to enter, vntill such time that the Captaine generall did disimbarke himselfe a lande, giuing therby to understand that they were afraide that they being once abord, he would returne againe into the Fleete, and so take them for captiues. They did stand so much vpon the same, that Aries Correa was faine to tell them, that without any suspition they might enter into the shipp, so somuch as the Captaine generall was not come thefher for to deceiue the King, but onely for to get his good will, with this they were contented, to goe abord, yet it was with some feare, that he would take them captiues. In the meane while that we were about this the Captaine generall landed, where there was tarrieng for him sundry Caymales and Pynacles, and other principall Nayres, being accompanied with many others. And before that the Captaine generall coulde set his feete on the grounde, he was taken vp, and put in an Andor or chaire, in the which he was carried to the Seraine, accompanied with the multitude abore saide. Being come to this place, he entered into a certaine house wheres the King was, whome he founde in this order. The house was hanged ouer with Carpets, or as they call them Alcatifas, at the ende whereof, there was a certaine place where the King was sitting, made much lyke vnto a lyttle Chappell, and ouer the Kings head did hang the cloth of Estate, of vnschorne Crimson velvet, and vnder him and about him, were twentie cushiones of silke. The King himselfe & furniture was all naked, sauing that about his middle he had a cloth

Pledges
are sent a-
boord,
vwhich
feare to be
taken cap-
tive.

The king
of Caly-
cut's state
& furni-
ture.

made of Cotten, which was white as snowe, and wrought ouer with golde. On his head he had a night cap of cloath of golde, which was made of the fashyon of an head peice of skull. On his eares he had hanging certaine Jewelles, of Diamonds, Saphyres and Pearles, of the which ther was two bigger then Walnuts. On his armes from the elbowe to the hande he had sundrye Bracelettes of Golde, in the which ther were precious Stones, and that without number, and of a wonderfull balewe. Moreouer on his legs from the knees downward, and on the fingers of his handes, and the toes of his fete, and especially on his great toe, ther was a ring, in the which ther was a Rubie so great and fine, that it gaue such a light as was wonderfull: amongst al which stones, ther was a Diamond bigger then a great Beane. But all this was nothing in comparison of his girdell, which was made of Golde and Stone that the same was aboue all price, and out of it there came such a resplendour or brightnes, that it blinded mens eyes to looke vpon it.

There stode harde by him a Chaire of Estate of golde and siluer, wrought in the best manner, full of precious stone, and of the selfe same sort was the Andor in the which he was brought from his Pallacie, whiche also stod there. Also there were twentie Trumpets, whereof seauenteene were of siluer, and the other thre of golde, the mouthes whereof, were finely wrought and set with stonye. Also ther was a Basin of golde in the which he did spit, and certaine perfuming pans of siluer, out of the which, ther came an excellent smell. And soe esteake ther wer lightned certain Lampus of Dyle, which were after the Mores order, the which were also made of siluer. Sixe yates from the King, stod his tweo bretheren, which were heires

vnto the Kingdome after him, and somwhat further off stood many Noble men, they all standing vpright vpon theyre fete.

¶ Of the meeting of the Captaine generall, and the King of Calycut and how there was deliuered vnto him the Kings present which he brought, and afterward what hapned. Chap.23.



¶ He Captaine generall beeing entered into this place, and viewing the Kings estate, wold haue gone to kisse the Kings handes, as it is commonly vsed amongst vs: but for that he was informed by those that stode by, that it was not the vse and custome amongst them, he did it not. Howbeit ther was a Chaire appointed him that was hard by the Princes seate, in þ which the Captaine generall did sit, that from thence he might declare his minde to the King, which was the greatest honouer that he could give him. Being set downe, he deliuered his letter of credite, which he brought from the King of Portingale, written in the Arabian tongue whiche beeing read by the King, þ Captaine generall also told his message, the effect wherof was this, That þ King of Portingale was desirous of his friendship, & to settle a Factorie in Calycut, in the which ther shulde be sufficient of all kinde of Merchandize that shoulde be spent there, & in trucke of the same, or for ready mony, he requested that he wold let him haue sufficient lading of splices for those shippes there. The King shewed himselfe to be content with this Embassage, & answered the Captaine generall that he wold yeld the King of Portingale out of his Cittie, all that he shoulde haue neede of. While they two were in this talke, came thereth the present whiche the Captaine generall had brought, in the which wer these pieces, a Basin of siluer and gylt wrought, a fountaine to the same, a Cuppe with his couer gylt, of the same worke, two Basses of siluer, foure Cushions, two of them of cloath of golde, and other two of Crimson Veluet vnsorne, a Cloath of Estate of Golde, being welted and garded with the selfe same Golde, and of Crimson

The Captaine generall deliuereth his letters of credite to the king of Calicut

The present whiche þ generall brought with him

Crimson velvet a verye fine Carpet, two clothes of Arras, the which were very rich, the one with figures, and the other with greene workes. Of this present, and of the Embassage whiche the Captaine generall had done unto him, as it appered, the King was very glad, and tolde the Captaine generall that he might goe to his lodging to rest himselfe, or els to his ships as he wold himselfe, for that he thought necessary to send for his Pledges, which are Gentlemen and daintely brought vp, and could not awaie with the Sea, to tarry there longer. And whildest they were ther, he was assured, that they would neither eate nor drinke for such was their custome. And if so be that the Captaine generall wold goe to his ships, and come the next day againe, to make full agreement and consent about the order of the trade in Calicut, he wold then send those Pledges againe. The Captaine generall hauing good confidence in those his wordes, went to his ships, leaving behinde him with his stiffe, Alonso Hurtado with other seauen. And being at the water side ready to departe, a seruaunt of one of those Pledges, went before abord in a small Pinnace, and tolde them that the Captaine generall did resourne aborde, this messenger was sent by the commaundement of the Clearke and Controller of the Kings house, as who shoulde saye, to giue them counsayle to come their waye, which they did, as soone as they heard what the slauie had tolde them in their language, and with that they leapt into the Sea, thinking to take that Pinace in the which the slauie went. As soone as Aries Correa saw this, he leapt into his owne boate, which was harde by the ships side with certaine of his Marriners and rowing with force tooke two of the Pledges, and also thre or four of those that were in the Pinace, the other fled and carried the Catuall with them, which was also one of the Pledges. This being concluded, the Captaine generall came abord, who after that he had knownen what had passed, because that those Pledges the which he had in his custodie, shoulde not returne and runne their waye, he commaunded them to be put vnder the hatches of his ship, and after-

afterward sent to complain to the King of that which they had done, laieng all the fault vpon the Clarke Controller. Also he sent word after what soyt they remained in his ship, promising, that if so be y he wold send him his stiffe, & such of his men as remained a land, he wold immediatly sende those Pledges which he had: and for that it was night, there was no more at that time done. The next daye following, the King came to the water side, accompanied with xii. thousand men, and sent with the Captaine Generalls stiffe and men, to the number of thirtie Almadias, for that they might returne with those Pledges that did remaine abord, howbeit for all that they were so many, yet there durst none of them come neare the ships, for the feare they stode in of our men, which remained in the flotte, least they wold take them, and so they returned with the same againe to land. The Captaine Generall seeing the feare that they stod in of his flotte, sent the next daye in certaine of his owne boates those Pledges that he had in custodie, commaunding that they shoulde goe and see them delivred somewhat aloofe of from the fleet, that brought him his men and stiffe. And while they were delivring the same, Araxamenoca which was the eldest of the Pledges, leaped into the water vpon a sodaine, with intent to runne away, but for all that he could not escape, so somuch as our men caught hanefast of him. The other that remained, whildest our men were thus busied fled lykewise. The lyke did Alonso Hurtado practise with one of those that wer with him. The Captaine generall meruailed to see how little honestie or truthe they vset, did therefore commaund Araxamenoca to be well looked vnto. And being three dayes past, and yet the King not sending for him, he had pittie to see him that in so many dayes he had eaten nothing, and therupon he sent him to the King, also he sent sundry weapons which were taken of his men, and requested him to send the other two of his men that were yet a land, which the King did sende, beeing moued therewnto, more for shame then otherwise, for that he had broken his word & promise. Now being three dayes

Humanit
Captaine
generall
toward
faulzie
infidels

The Conquest

The pled
ges sent
aboard.

part, and there came no kinde of auns were vnto the Cap-
taine generall, hereby he had sufficient tryall or understand-
ing how variable he was, and therefore he woulde farrye
no longer for his auns were, but sent vnto him to knowe
whether he wold make an end of the agreement y was be-
gun betwene them, and for the conclusion of the same hee
would sende Aries Correa which came with him for Fac-
tor. Howbeit for the better assuraunce therof, he willed him
to send him certaine Pledges. This message was sent to the
King by a certaine Gentleman called Francisco Correa,
which did offer himself to carry the same, when all the rest of
the flēete was afraide, least that the King woulde take him
prisoner, or command him to be slaine. To this message y
king made answere y he was well pleased to agree to haue
the Trade settled, and that he shoulde sende vnto him Aries
Correa about the same or whom els he shoulde thinke god.
But first of all he tolde him that he woulde sende two Ne-
phewes of one Gosarate, which is a great rich Merchaunt,
for pledges, which indeed was so done. After that those pled-
ges were entred, immediately departed toward the land A-
ries Correa, to whom the King commaunded to be gien a
faire house to lye and rest himselfe and to lay his Merchan-
dize in, which he brought with him, which house belonged to
Gosarate, who was Grandfather to those two Pledges, that
the king had sent. But he commanaded that soasmuch as A-
ries Correa, was yet not well knownen in the Countrey nor
acquainted with their orders & prices how he might sel his
Merchandise, nor yet what the buyer shuld give, to instruct
him therein. But he did not so, but rather cleane contrarye,
soasmuch as he was a friend to y Mores of Meca, which
were great enimies vnto our men, not onely for that they
were Christians, but for feare least that for our cause they
shuld loose part of ther credit which they had in Calicut, by
meanes wherof they tooke their Merchandise for what price
so euer they woulde themselues. And also for the feare they
conceived of them many times, the Gentiles durst not come
out of their dozes.

They

of the East India.

82

They knew also that having our Factory settled there,
they shoulde be great losers, not onely in their Merchandise,
which would be in valem lese worth, as also in their Spi-
ces, Drugs & precious stones, which would be more worth &
better esteemed. And that was the caule that alwaies Aries
Correa was overthwarted in all things y he went about to
buy, with offring moare then he did for the same, after y the
price was by any of ours made, ther euer they did before,
so y by this meanes alwayes he was forced to pay the de-
arer for his drugs & spices. And if so be that at any tyme he
would speake with y King, they did traueil all y they could,
that some of them might be alwayes present to withstand &
speak against him in all things. They did not this onely the-
selues, but found meanes also by Samide, which was Ad-
mirell of the Sea of Calicut, & a naturall More, y he shoulde
not consent y those y remained in y Factory w Aries Correa
shuld go aboard y flēete, & moareover if any ship woulde pre-
sume to come neare to y shore, not to eolent y it shuld return,
saieng, y the King had gien such comandement. The Cap-
taine generall being aduertised of all this, & supposing the
same to be of a suspition of treason, commanaded to leye and
byng himselfe vnder saile to goe out of that harbour, and
there to enter into councell with his Captaines what were
best for him to do, for that he was afraide lest whiles y he
remained in that harbour he might be set vpon by y King of
Calicuts flēete, & so be troubled. The King after y he knew
what the Captains generall had done, & that he minded to
go his way, demanded of Aries Correa the cause why he
went out of his harbour, who aunswere him that he did not
know certaintly, wherfore without it were for the iniuries
which the Mores had done vnto him, & so told him y whole
order, for that he knew the same. The King upon this wil-
led him to send againe for the Captaine generall, who im-
mediately after that he knew, what the king had said, return-
ed, & the King forthwith commanaded that the Mores shuld
not from thenceforth vse anye such villany. He also tooke a
waye the Gosarate from the companye of Aries Correa,

The Cap-
taine ge-
nerall had
good
cause to
feare and
hate the
Mores

v.ii.

vnto

A free
houre or
the factorie
gave to
the King
of Portingale
by
a deede

unto whom he gave charge to instruct him in the order of the Countrey, and did put in his place another which was a very honest man, and a friend of ours, (although he were a Moore) whose name was Cosebequin. This man was also in Calicut of god credite, and the head of all the Moores of the Countrey, that were naturally borne there, which were alwaies in controuersie with the Moores of the Cairo, and of the Straights of Meca, of the which the Admirall was head. Also the King gave commaundement, that to the end our Merchants which were in the Factorie might sell the better, and also buyr they Spices at the better hande, and with quietnesse, they shoulde remoue theyr Factorie to a house of Cosebequin, the which stode harde by the water side. And of this house, a gifte was given to the King of Portingale for ever by writing, the Copie whereof, so soone as the Captaine generall should carry it with him, was inclosed in a Tablet of golde, to the which the King did set to his stire and seale, also the Kings pleasure was, that upon the top of the house there should be set a flagge, with the roiall armes of Portingale, that all men might knowe, that the same was his. Which after that the Captaine generall had knowledge of, he sent unto the King great thanks for the same, and from that time forwarde they had indiffer- ent god sales by the helpe of Cosebequin, who did aide them therein. As soone as those of the Countrey had understand- ing that our Factorie was by the King so fauoured, they lykewise did the lyke. Afterward our men might goe wheresouer they would without any molestation, and as sure as they might in Lishborne. So the friendshipe betwene them and our men, was afterward very god.

¶ How at the request of the King of Calicut, the Captaine Generall sent to take a shipp of the Moores, and also after what sort the same was taken. Cap. 24.

Whiles



Whiles this friendship continued betwēns our men and the Cittie, and they beeing in so great a friendship and concord one with another, on the next laterday following there did appeare to those of Calicut, a greate shippe of the Moores, which was far off, going from Cochinch toward Cambaya. And as soone as y same was discryed, the king sent wozde to the Captaine Generall, requesting him that for his sake he woulde send to take the same shippe, for ouer and besides that, there were in the same certeine Elephantes, yet was therz one which exceeded them all, the which he woulde haue bought. And al- though he had offred for him more then he was worth, yet he woulde not sell him. Albeit the owner was a dweller in Cochinch, and therfore he most earnestly requested him to send to take the sayd shippe, for somuch as it did so highlye touch his honour and credit. Unto his request, the Captaine Generall made answere that he woulde doe it with a god will, although that he was informed that the sayd shippe was great, and that there were within it very many men both Marriners and souldiers, and that the same could not bee taken without some losse of men, and therfore it was requisite that he consented that his men might kill those y were in the ship, wherewnto the king agreed. This beeing concluded, the Captaine Generall commaunded that Pedro de Tayde with his Caruell, shoulde goe take the foresaid ship, and that there should goe with him a young Gentle- man called Edward Pacheco, which was thought to bee a valiant souldier, and with these there was a 60. men. The king also sent certeine Moores in the Caruell, that they also might view the order of their fighting. The Caruell beeing under saille gane chace unto the shippe till it was night, whiche being come, they lost sight of the same, and go- ing a long the coast all the quarter of the Nene, they saue where he was riding at Ankoz, and then Edward Pache- co commaunded to beare with him, and found those Moores

P. iii.

with

This ship
for one in
those
coasts ve-
ry vvel ap-
pointed.

with their weapons in a readinesse to defend themselues withall, howbeit as they were hoising vp theyr Sayles, they easily iudged the same to be of 600. tun, and that with in it there were 300. fighting men, the most parte whereof were bothe men, Edwardo Pacheco woulde not laye the same a boord, for that he was commaunded to the contrarie, but to sinke him if it were possible. And hauing brought him vnder his lye, he commaunded to amaine. The Moores making as it were a mocke of the same, gaue a lowe crye and plaide vpon their Instruments, and after this they shotte off certeine Ordinaunce which they had, and manye arrowes, making therewith a shew of readinesse that they were in. They were answered by our men with shot, of the which ther chaunced a Pellette to strike harde vnder the bosomme of the shippe betwene winde and water, wher there was made a hole by the which ther entered a great quantitye of water. After this they shotte againe, with the which ther were many of them slaine & hurt, & the other trembled with the feare they had of our Ordinaunce, with this they bare toward the baye of Cananor, the which was harde by, where there were riding at an Ankor soure shippes of the Moores, amongest them he came to an Ankor. Now beeing within the sayd Baye, arriued also with the Captaine Edwardo Pacheco, who commaunded his Ordinaunce to be shotte at them, and with the same had taken them all, if so be that there had not come certeine Paraos of the Moores to succour them, the which were in the porke, and as they were fighting the night came on, which was the cause that al those Paraos were not by him destroied. In al these encounters there was no more then nine hurt of our men, which was done by their arrowes.

Night beeing come, Edwardo Pacheco brought him selfe forth of the Baye and came to Ankor harde by an Ilande, for that he was there more surer then in the Bay, whereas they might haue sette his shippe on fire. And al though that it were contrarye to his commission, yet for all that he retourned in the moorning, and joyned himselfe with

With his enimies, who as soone as it was daye, woulde haue ranne theyr waye, and as they beganne to make sayle, he entered vpon them in the Baye, shooting of his Ordinaunce, with the which he striake the saide shippe, and by this meanes they yelded, with this those of Cananor that were standing at the water side, were verye soore agreed and woulde haue come to succour them, who after that Edwardo Pacheco begame to dispend his Ordinaunce amongst them, ranne lykewise theyr wayes.

This beeing done, he went towarde Calycut, to the which harbour he arrived the next daye, where the King came to the water side to see the shippe, for that they tooke the same for a miracle, and gaue our men great praisles. The Captaine Generall commaunded the shippe to bee deliuered vnto the king with seauen Elephants that were within the same, which were worth in Calycut thirtye thousand crownes, ouer and besides this, there was found in it great store of merchaundis, besides those men whom he tooke captiues. Also he sent the king word that he needed not to meruaille that so small a Carnell as that was could take such a great shippe, for that in matters of greater waight he woulde be at his commaundement, for the which he sent him great thanks, and praid him to lende vnto him those men that had done so notable an act, whom he did receive very wel, and with great honour, and gaue them great gifts, in especiall to Edwardo Pacheco. Some affirme that after that the king had seene this famous act that our men had done being so few, he had them from thence forth in some feare, & was desirous to sic them dispatched out of his countrie, & therfore did consent vnto that treason, of the which I will speake of hereafter.

¶ of the Oration which the Moores made to the king, concerning the enterteining of our men, and what aunswere there was made, & also pollicie vsed against them. Chap. 35.

The
Moores
yeelde
vnto our
men.

With the taking of this ship the Moores of Calicut were greatly affrighted in minde, and soze offendid with þ king for that he made so great account of our men, which as they thought was done to reuenge their iuryses, and for the hatred or enuye they had conceiued against vs, though iude the king made more account of our men then he did of them. By this meanes as they thought, it was no other but to prouoke them to leaue his Countrie, in especiall soz as much as our men brought them such great stoe of Merchandise, and as much as they did, and brougþt as great stoe of splices as they did: Therefore they determined to make vnto the king an Oration concerning the same matter. And being ioyned together spake in the name of them all, one on this sort.

The
Moores
Oration
against
our men.

Emparather of all the Malabars, nothing leſſe migh-
tie then the mightiell king of the Indias, & most feare-
full amongſt thole that are feared of all the Princes of
the ſame. We cannot but meruaille much that thou ha-
uing these two qualties, wouldest imbafe thy ſelue to
receive into thy Countrie theſe þ are enimyes to thy law,
& Straungers to the cuſomes of thy kingdome, & laſt of al,
doe rather appear to be rōuers then merchants. If thou
doeſt receive them for want of ſuch as ſhoulede bring vnto
the Cittie theſe kindes of merchaundife that they do bring,
or elſe carrie away theſe kindes of Splices that they are de-
ſirous of, we woulde then allowe thereof. But there are too
many that doth the ſame, and men that thou haſt knowne
of a long time, and by the long continuance of them art ac-
quainted with their fidelitie, which haue encreaſed ſo much
thy rents, that therof we are a god witneſſe. But thou ha-
uing forgotten all this, wouldest receive theſe whom thou
diuiddes not knowe, and doeſt fauour them ſo much, that a-
mongſt ſo many, and ſuch a multitude of god ſubiectes as
thou haſt, wouldest make choice of them, that they ſhoulede
reuenge thy iuryses, as though thine owne ſubiectes were
not ſufficient men to doe the ſame. By which iude thou
doeſt

doeſt abafe thy power ſo much, that we for very shame, &
for that we are bound of duetie to bring it into thy memo-
rie. For if ſo be þ thou well conſider what it is to make the
reuengers of thy iuryses, & give them in reſpect thereof
ſo great honour, it is as it were to ſhewe them plainly a
certeine kinde of weakneſſe which indeed is not in thy ſub-
iectes, but rather doeſt bolden them to make ſmall account
of thee, & to afterward do that which we doe well know
they will do, which is to rob from all merchants that com-
meth towards thy poſts, to deſtroy thy country, & at length
to take the Cittie, which is the end of their conning into
theſe parts, & not to looke for splices, and this is moſt true,
that from their countrie vnto this is almoſt ſiue thouſand
leagues by ſea, with returnes and ſtormes that the ſame
voyage hath, ouer and beſides the great daunger of the boi-
age, & the charges of the making of their great ſhippes, and
furniſhing the ſame with ordinaunce, beſides the Strength-
ening of them with men, muſt moſt all this beeing wel no-
ted, it is plaine that for all their greate gaines which
they might haue by their splices in Portingale, their loſſes
would be greater, in conning ſo far for them, which is a
mauife profeſſe that they are rather pirats then merchants,
which come into the country to rob and take thy cittie, as
they will do, if ſo be they do place themſelues once within
the ſame. And when they haſt poſſeſſe the ſame house which
thou diuiddes give them for a factorie, they will make there
a fort, from whence they will make the warres, when thou
haſt thinke leaſt of it, which thing will come to paſſe, and
now the rather, ſince that thou doeſt comandue the ſame
to be made by thy ſubiectes. But this as we ſaie wee doe
bring to thy memorie moſe for the god will which we doe
owe to thee, then for any profit we doe looke for. And if it
fortune that thou wilt not remember vs, there are other
citties in Malabar where we maye make our habitation,
whether for our ſakes will be brought all ſtore of splices.
Duer and beſides all this, the loyaltie which we doe owe
vnto thee doth make vs to feare moſe the loſſe of thy eſtate,

Proves
that we
yvere rather
pirats
then mer-
chants.

then to care for our owne profit.

As soone as the Moore had made an end of his Oration, the king did gratifie them all very much, and tolde them that he woulde haue a speciall care of all that which they had remembred him of, and howe in the selfe same sorte hee supposed þ matter indeed wold come to passe. The occasion that the king tooke to request the Generall to send to take that ship, was to see the experiance of their valiant minds, & also why he did consent to þ lading of their shippes, was to the end there might remaine in the countreis their monye which they brought to buie merchaundise withall, according as he did to such merchants as come into his port. Also at the last he did promise that he woulde not forslake them for any straunger. Yet for all this, the Moores did not remaine fully satisfied, because the king did not command vs to depart out of the citie of Calycut, and not suffer our men to trade ther any longer, for that was the principallest thing that they did pretende. Nowbeit they woulde not let but entremeddle in all our matters, especiall in the buieng of our Spices, which they did openly buye, and sent them secretly vnto other places. This was done with a determinacion, for þ they could not away with our men, but wold resist them, our men beeing thus resisted might then haue occasion the better to defend themselves, & so by this meanes they wold reuenge their quarrels openly by fighting with our men. This they had great desire to do, thinking to destroy our men openly, for that they were manye more in number then ours were, they hoped that when this matter was once begun, that then the king wold take their parts. Also they wrought by all meanes possible to haue the common sorte of people on their side, inciting them against our men, with matters which they made them beleue that our men had done against them.

why he re
quested
our men
to take
the ship
of Mecca.

How the Moores that dwelled in Calycut by meanes of the Factor & countenance they had at the kings hand, did set vpon the Factorye, where was slaine in defence there of the Factor with other of his company. Cap.36.



By meanes of this subtile dealing of the Moores, there past thre moneths before the Factor could get any splices more then hee had, to lade two shippes withall: which was a great griefe to the Captaine Generall, forasmuch as thereby he perceiued verye well that the friendship of the king was not steadfast, but that he was a lyar, and a man that vised no truth at all. And if so be that he had not tarried there so long time as he did, fearing that in no other porke he should finde sufficient lading for his shippes, he woulde haue fallen out with him, and so haue gone to some other place. But forasmuch as he hadde bene there at so greate charges, he dissimuled therewith onely to see whether with his god will he might lade there or no. The Captaine Generall seeing that all shinges were but delayes, sent vnto the king, requesting him to remember those promises he hadde made vnto the Factour, that within twentye dayes he woulde deliuer sufficient lading for the whole Fleete, and that nowe there were thre moneths past, and yet there was no more laden then two shippes. The occasion whereof he did not knowe, and therfore he was the willinger to suffer the same, and that with great patience, hoping alwayes that he wold give order for the lading of the rest of the Fleete. But now he sawe howe all things went, and knew that it was impossible to make an ende thereof.

For although he had promised that his Fleete should be the first that should be laden before any other straungers,

Z.ii.

The king
accused
plainly of
doblencie.

and that he was informed for most certeine, þ the Mores had bought for a lesse price great store of Spices, and sent the same to other places, whether they would, he therefore requested him yet to haue him in his remembrance, þ now it was tyme for him to depart towards Portingale, desiring him to dispatch him as he hadde promised. The King as soone as he had heard what the messenger layd, did shewe as in an outward appearance greatly meruailing that our shippes remained yet vnladen, and aunswered that hee was very sorrie therfore, and that he could not beleue that the Mores contrarie to his commaundement had bought splices under a coulour, and sent the same a bordre some other shipp whether it pleased them, he hauing ginen commaundement to the contrarie, namely, that the Mores shold not buie any splices in hugger mugger. Affirming that if it bee so they had so deceived him, he woulde punish them therfore. Upon this immedately he gaue commaundement to take thole shippes that were laden with Spices, with con-
dition that they shoulde pay for the same the price that the Mores had bought at. The newes was brought forthwith unto the Mores, and as there was nothing more accepta-
ble unto them, then to haue occasion to fall out with our men, so therfore did one of the principall Mores beginne to lade his shipp first, and that openlye with all sortes of Spices and Drugges. And for that cholar might the more increase in our men, to take thole splices, hee found meanes that certeine Mores which the Factor tooke to bee his verye friends, and also certeine Gentiles, shoulde make him beleue that if so be that hee did not send to take that ship, that was a lading, that then he could not haue lading suffi-
cient for the flete.

The Factor gaue credit vnto this report, and therelpon sent wrode to the Captaine Generall, what the Mores and Gentiles had tolde him, and that he thought their layeng to be true. And therfore since the King of Calicut had given him license to take all such Spices as the Mores had laden, hee might the better nowe take that shipp.

Nothing more accepta-
ble unto them, then to haue occasion to fall out with our men,

þowbeit the Captaine general was loath to deale therwith for all the Kings license, for he knew him to be an inconst-
tant man, and waryng also the great credit, that the Mores were in with him, he was afraide least that after they had taken the said shipp, the Mores through the Kings fauour would rise against them. And this was the auns were that was sent to the Factor: yet for all that he did require him once more to take that shipp, saing, that if he did not, that then the King shuld be in hazarde to lose such Merchaundize as he had ther: neverthelesse the Captaine general wold not meddle therewith, and yelding for that his determination sufficient reason to the contrary. But the Factor on þ other part ceased not to make vnto him sundry requests, and pro-
testations, that he should paye all such losses and damages, as shold hap vpon the King of Portingales Merchaundize, by his defaults, for that he woulde not deale with the sayde shipp. Thus since he saw there was no other remedie, he co-
sented therento, although it were against his will: & ther-
fore the xvi. day of December, the Captaine generall sent wrode to thole that were abord þ shipp, that was thus laden by the Mores, by the order which was sent him from the King of Calicut, to commaund them to depart, and for as-
much as they made but little reckoning thereof he sent the next daye all his boates to bring him within the harbour. After that this report came to the owner of the shipp know-
ledge, they made the Mores priuie hereof, whereof they were very glad, for that by this meanes there was offered vnto them occasion to fall out with our men. Wherevpon,
they began in a furious outrage, running out of their doxes like madde men, complaining vpon vs and our people, by meanes whereof, they were tumultuously moued, and fra-
med great outcryes and larums, and alwayes against our men. And after that they had thus done, they ranne to the King, with whom went the owner of the shipp, complaining also vpon our men for the detaining of his shipp, saing that our men had bought and laden much more splices & drugges, then that the Merchaundize came vnto which they hadde

The
Mores
moued a
tumult a-
gainst our
men.

The sa-
uage fer-
enes of the
Moores a-
gainst our
men.

brought with them, howbeit their pride was such, that they were content with nothing, but as Theues and Pirates would haue all. At this instant came the Moores, which did before helpe him very much, declaring many things against our men, & how much the King was in fault, for suffering them within this Citie, requesting him most earnestlye to give them license to reuenge their losse, which they had receiued. The King as he was inconstant and without anye fidelitie, did graunt them the same. As soone as the Moores had obtained their request, they came their waye from the King, and tooke their weapons, and with a sauage fiercenes, lyke wilde beasts, ranne into the Citie in flockes towarde the Factorie, which was compassed about like a Castle, with the wall of the height of a man on horsebacke, in the which were lxx. Portingales amongst whom was Fryer Henrick with his company of Friers. Ther wer amongst our men no more weapons then 8. Crossebowes, all y rest had nothing but swords & cloakes, as soone as they knew of y enimies coming, they ran to the gates of the Factorie, & when y they saw they were so few, they iudged them to be some quarellers that came thether for the same purpose, & therfore wer minded to defend their gates, with their cloakes & rapiers only: but afterward their power increased so much vpō our men, that by reason of their arrowes and speares, they could not indure ther any longer: then y Factor commanded their gates to be shut vp, supposing that from the wal they wold drieue their enimies from thence, & at the very shutting vp of the gates, there were seuen of the enimies slaine, y which gates could not be shut without great daunger, alwayes fighting valiantly. In this conflict, ther wer of our men many hurt, & fourre slaine: howbeit as well those y wer hurt as those y wer in health, went vp upon y wal of y Factorie, for to defend their enimies from thence with their crossebowes. Howbeit the multitude of them at that present was so great that they made shewe as if they had bene in number fourre thousande. There came also to aide them sundrye Nayres, which all of them together, began to set vpō those that wer

in

in the Factorie, hoping thereby to enter. Aries Correa seeing y it was impossible for him to defend it any lōger without some aide from the ships, and for to giue them to understand of their troubles, ther was displaide a flagge in the top of the Factorie: and as soone as the same was discryed by the Captaine generall, he suspected it in himselfe to be that which indeede it was, for the which sodaine chance he was very sorrowfull, for that as then he was but newly let bloud, and sicke in his bed, and therefore he could not go himselfe to succour them: howbeit he sent Sancho de Toar, to supply his roine, with all the Fleetes boats, which went with luch men as they had, but to resist such a number as there was of their enimies, they were very few, which Sancho de Toar perceiving, durst not disanbarke himselfe, neither yet come so neare the shoyre least that the enimies shuld come in their Almadias and Tonys, and so take them, also that they could not hurt them, they laye so farre off from the shoyre: but they from thence could discerne how valiantly our men did defende themselves and there entring, although the number of their enimies did alwayes increase, for so it was needful for y great slaughter, y our men made of thē, from ouer y wal. Notwithstanding by meanes therof their fury did so increase, y they caused to be brought certain engins to overthrow part of y wal wal, which were so great, that our men could not by any meanes defend the same, being so few and so many hurt, with the enimies arrowes and speares, which came from them as thicke, as though it had rained arrowes. But perceiving once the enemie began to enter, they would not tarrie there any longer, but went forth of the Factorie, by a doore that opened toward the water side, where they made reckoning to saue themselves with their boats. But y enimies followed them alwayes so narrowly, hurting and killing them, that in this conflict Aries Correa was slaine, so that there were lacking fiftie of our men, betwene those that were dead and taken captives, twentie onely escaped, which tooke the wafer, but those were soze hurt, amongst whome was a Fryer called Succour sent by y General Captaine to the Factorie. Fryer

The conquest

Fryer Henricke, and a son of the said Aries Correa, which was but eleuen yeares of age, who is yet aliue and is called Antonio Correa, and since that time hath done in the Indias, and in other plares notable acts of Armes, as in the fourth booke I shall declare. Those that did escape, wer taken into our boates, and carried to the flote.

¶ How the Captaine generall slew the most parte of those Moores that were aboerde the ten great ships, and then commanded them to be set a fire, & also of the great destruction which he brought vpon the citie in reuenge of the death of those that were slaine therein. cap.37.



The king of Calicut was farre off from making a mende, then would he be content, so that he might ther haue his lading. But the King of Calicut was farre off from the matter, for he was very glad of that which þ Moores had done, and commaunded all such Merchaundize to be taken, as were within the Factorie, the which wer well worth four thousand

of the East Indias.

89

thousand duckets, & also take all such of ours as wer found aliue for captives, although they were hurt, of the which there were foure that died. After all this, the Captaine generall seeing that in all that daye the King of Calicut sent no messenger to excuse himselfe of the fact, he put the matter in question, wheras it was determined that he forthwith shuld reuenge those iniuries that were past, for feare least, if he shoulde delay so to doe, that then the King might haue time to arme his flote, which would not then be so easelie done. This being determined, our men put themselves in a readinesse to lay abord þ great ships, which lay in þ harbor full of Moores: these at the first would haue defended themselves, yet for all þ our men did ioyne with them, & fought lustre, with them so valyantly, that they brake their order, killing venge vyrughe upon the iniurions Calicuttis.

After that these newes were brought to the Captaine generall, he was not onely very sorrowfull for the death of those that were slaine, but also to see how little prouailed the present which he gaue vnto the King of Calicut, as also the taking of the ship, in the which was the Elephant, & now þre moneths were past that he had bene there, and yet had ladden no moe then two ships, nor yet could tell when to lade the rest, fearing also least in Coching he shoulde not be well accepted, for taking of the ship in the which was the Elephant. And further waryng with himselfe, how little or none occasion at all there was giuen to vse such treason against our men, he did therefore determine to reuenge himselfe vpon þ King of Calicut, if so be that he did not vse some excuse for that which was past, wherevnto if he woulde willingly yelde, then would he be content, so that he might ther haue his lading. But the King of Calicut was farre off from the matter, for he was very glad of that which þ Moores had done, and commaunded all such Merchaundize to be taken, as were within the Factorie, the which wer well worth four thousand

AS

The feare
that the
king of
Calicut
and the
citizens
were in.

as neare the shore as he could, the one somewhat separated from the other. They had also their boats before them, that they might reach the most part of the Citie. As soone as the morning began to appeare, immediately all the great Ordinaunce went off amongst their houses, which after that the enimies had leue, and how neare our ships lay to the shore, they began to shote at the with smal pieces which they had without hurting any of our men, howbeit of our ordinance, soz that the enimies came running in flockes, there was no piece that mist, and by that meanes there were manye that fell, and the others that drewe towards the Citie, where our ordinaunce also had made a great destruction, as well in the Temples of their Gods, as in their dwelling houses. The feare was so great astrongst the Citizens, that the King of Calicut himselfe was driven to leaue his Pallaice, and to goe out of the Citie, for that our men went thereto to sake him out with their pellets, so that hard at his heeles they killed a Nayre, which was a noble man, and ouerthrewe part of the Kings Pallaice. This destruction dured no more but this daye: and whilst it was a doing, there appeared two ships y wer comming to the harbor, which as soone as they had discried vs, went their way, & therfore this fight ceased. The Captain generall made after the w al his fleet to randeane, which is a Port not far off, where there was other seven neare to the land ready to succour them, in which there came a multitude of Moyses to defend them, and for that our ships could not come neare unto the shore, they lefte them. And the Captaine generall contenting himselfe with that which he had done in Calicut, for that it was verye late to make his voyage toward Portingal, went toward Coching, & ther concluded a peace, to see whether he might lade ther, for y he well knew it, that ther was moze Pepper then in Calicut;

¶ How the Captaine generall arriued at the harbour adioyning to the citie of Coching, & ther he concluded a peace betweene him & the King, & afterward began to lade his ships, Cap.37.

Going



Ding vnder saile along by this citie, y Cap- taine generall tooke two ships of y Moyses, which after that they had discried our ships, bare as neare the shore as they coulde, so: feare of our ships, but our men tooke them and when they were discharged of certayne

Rice which they carried, the Generall caused them to be set a fire, and so following his course he arriued at Coching the xx. of December, which standeth in the Province of Mala- bar, iiii. leagues from that parte of Calycut, going into the South, and being in ix. degrees toward the North. The sit- Coching tuation therof is along the river, in the which the Sea doth standeth in 9.degrees, and the sciu- atio thes- of.

foze the mouth of this river. The land round about is wa- try and low, and made into Islands: they haue smal stoe of victuals, but for all that those which they haue is verye fresh. This Citie is buylded much after the manner of Calycut, and is inhabited by Gentiles and sundry Moyses Sir. Jigars, which are come thereto from manye places, and are great Perchaunts, amongst whom there are two that haue fiftie shippes a piece.

In this Countrey is great stoe of Pepper, and the most parte that they haue in Calycut commeth from thence. But forasmuch as in Calycut there are moze stoe of Per- chaunts which come from other places, therfore the same is richer then Coching. The King is a Gentile, and is of the behaviour and propertie of the King of Calycut: howbeit he is verye pore, by reason his Countrey is but small, neither can he command any money to be coined in his Citie.

The Kings of Coching are in great subiection to the Kings of Calicut, for as often as ther chanceth a new king to ha. i. suc.

A Moore
baptised
& called
Michael.

succiēde in Calycut, he immeidately goeth to Coching, and disposseseth him that hath the same, of the whole kingdome and taketh possession himself therof, so that by this meanes it lyeth in his hands, whether he will restore that King to the crowne againe or not. Also the King of Coching is bound to aide and accompany the King of Calycut in bataille against any other King, also he is bounds to dye in the religion of the King of Calicut. The Captaine generall, being come to this harbour, did there let fall his Ankoy, for that he was afearde to send Gaspar with a message to the King, least he would ryght away, he choseth rather to send one whose name was Michael Iogue, which although he were a Gentile & a straunger, yet he came unto our Fleete, with intent to turne Christian, saing that he would goe for Portingale: wherepon the Captaine generall tooke occasion to baptize him, and gaue him the name of Michael, & for his surname as he was called before. By this man he sent to the King of Coching his message, certifieng him of all that they had past in Calicut, & also y^e the Captaine generall had brought wth him great store of merchandize to giue in trucke for such commodities as there were in Coching, with the which if so be that the King wer not contented, that then he would buy the same for ready mony, wherof he had brought with him great store, and therfore his request was that in trucke of his merchandize, or for his ready money he would giue him lading for four ships. The answere that the king made to this messenger, was, That he was very glad of his comming to this his Port, for that he was wel informed of his strength and valiantnesse, and therfore he esteemed them all the better, as hereafter he shold well perceiue. And as for such Spices as he had there, he would giue him y^e same in trucke of his merchandize y^e he had brought with him from Portingale, or els for money as he shold thinke best. And also that without any feare he shold send a land whom he shold thinke god to prouide the said lading, & for the aswrance of such as shold traile about y^e same he sent him 2. of y^e princiwal Naires in pledge, bth conditio y^e every day he shuld chaunge

chaunge them and take others, for that all such as did seide a sea borde, could not come anye more in the kings presence. The Captaine Generall was well contented therewith, who had the sending of those pledges so quietly a bord, for a god beginning, and therfore he sent immediatly for Factor of this lading Goncallo Gilbarbosa, which was sent before with Aries Correa, and for his Scrivener he sent Larenco Moreno, and for Interpretour one called Maderade Alcisia. Also the Captaine Generall commaunded to be delivred vnto them and to serue them in all kinde of affaires, fourre banished men.

The king hauing notice of the comming of the Factor a land, sent to receive him the Rector of the Citie, who went accompanied with many noble men of the Courte, who brought them before the king. This king even as his rents did farre differ in value from the king of Calycuts, so he did also differ very much in his estate, not onely for y^e furniture of his person, but also of the place in the which he was in. For there appeared nothing else but the verye bare walls. The king himselfe was sitting within certeine grates, made much lyke a Theatre, with the which the whole house was compassed aboue, and there was attending vpon him verie few men. The Factor beeing come before the king, did present vnto him a present whiche the Captaine Generall sent him, which was a Balon of siluer to wash his hands in, full of Safforne, and a greate Ewer of siluer full of rose water, besides certeine braunes of Corall, this present the king received very joyfuly, giuing vnto the Captaine Generall great thanks for the same, and after that he had talked a while with the factor, and with Larenco Moreno, he commaunded them to be lodged, and so there remained those thre a land, besides the other fourre banished men. But the Captaine Generall would not consent there shold remaine a land anye more, for he iudged that the selver ther remained a land, the fewer would be lost if so be that there shold chaunce the lyke misfortune to that which did in Calicut. Howbeit that was

farre unlike, for by the king of Coching seemed to be a man inclined to vertue & all the loialtie in the world, which wel appeared in his fauour, & in the vsing of our men, & in the dispatch he made for the lading of our shippes with splices, & in the commanding of helpe to be gien by those of þ countrie, which they did so willingly and with so great a zeale, that the same seemed to be ordeined of God, that the trade might be brought from Calycut to Coching, & that his holy Catholike faith might increase in the Indias, as the same did, besides the estate of þ king of Portingale, which might increase also in riches as the same hath done.

Hovv the Captaine General being at Coching, ther came vnto him a Priest vvhich vwas an Indian and a christian, from the citie of Grangalor, to go vwith him to Portingale, and also vwhat els he tolde him of the christians of this citie. Chap. 39

The Captaine Generall beeing in this citie & ladden, there came vnto him two Indians which as they said were christians, & naturally boorne in þ citie of Grangalor, which is hard by Coching, these were brothers, & were desirous to go to Portingale, & fro thence to Rome to see the Pope, & afterward to Ierusalem to visit þ holy sepulchre. And being demanded by þ Captaine generall what city þ Grangalor was, & whether the same was only inhabited by christians, & also whether they do esteeme þ christia order of þ Greeks, or of þ church of Rome: one of the made answere, þ Grangalor was a gret city in þ province of Malabar, stading vwin þ coutry at þ end of a riuere which compasseth þ same, by some parts þ inhabitaents therof, saith he, are both Ghetiles & christians, also ther dwel amogst the many Jewes which are smally esteemed of, ther are also many strangers amongst the, which are merchants of Surria, of Aegipt, of Persia, & Arabia, by reason of þ great store of pepper which is there gathered, this citie hath a king amogst theselues, vnto whō al such christians as dwel vwin this citie do pay certein tribute, & these dwel by theselues, where they haue their church made after our order, sauing they haue not in the any Images of saints, but only certein crosses: they do not vse bels, but when þ priests would haue them

The di-
scriptiō &
state of
Grāgalor.

þe come to divine seruice, þe they do obserue þ order of þ Greeks. The christians haue their Popes which haue 12. cardinals, & two patriarchs, & many Bisshops & Archbishops, all which do reside in Armenia, for thether go þ bishops of Grāgalor to receive their dignite, he himself had ben ther vþ a bishop which þ pope did consecrate, & he himself received at his hands, orders of priesthood, & euen so he is accustomed to do vnto al others þ are christians in þ Indias, & in Caitaio & also he is called catholike, & their Tonsura is made vþ a crosse. Of those two patriarchs which they haue, þ one remainteth in þ Indias, & þ other in Caitaio, & as for þ bishops they are reposedit in cities, as is thought convenient. The cause why they haue a pope in those parts hath been as is thought by the, for þ in S. Peters time he being in Antioch, ther arose a great scisme of Simon Magus, which was þ occasiō þ he was called to Roine to ouerthrow þ same, & to help þ christians which wer in great trouble: and seeing þ he must depart fro Antioch, & for þ the church of þ orient shuld not remaine wout a shepheard, he appointed a vicar to gouern, who, S. Peter being dead, shuld remaine for pope, & those þ succeeded him shuld alwaies assist him in Armenia, but after þ Moyes entred into Suria & Asia, & for þ Armenia remained alwaies in the christian faith: the Christians did therfore chuse to gouerne it by 12. cardinals. Marco Paulo doth also make mentiō of this catholike pope, wher he wriþeth of this Armenia, in which he declareth there are two orders of Christians: the one of those are Nestorians, the other Iacobites, their pope is also named Iacobite, & is hee whō they cal þ catholike Ioseph. Moreouer he told þ Captaine general þ in Grangalor are priests whose crowns are not shauen as ours are, but onely in þ midst of their heads they leaue certein haires, al þ rest is shauen, & also they haue deacons & subdeacons. They consecrate vþ leuened bread & with wine made of raisons, for they haue no other in þ coutry. Their childre are not baptised vntil xl. daies after their birth, without they be sickly. Those þ are christians do confess theselues as we do, they receive þ sacrament & bury þ dead as we doe. They

Why the
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They doe not vse the holy Dyle, but in stede of the same they doe blesse them, & when that any die, they gather many of themselves together, and for the space of viii. daies, they doe eate abundantly, and afterward they celebrate the obsequies of the dead. They make their testament before they dy, & those y do not so, the next heire shal inherit their lands and goods, & if so be that the husband die first, the wife shal haue her dowrie, on condition that she shall not marrie in one whole yeare after, when that they enter in their churches, they take holy water. Their opinion is that there are fowre Euangelists, whose writings they haue in great veneration. They fast the Lent and the Advent with greate solemnnitie, and take regard not to breake the same, during this time they doe exercise themselves in praier, & on Easter eu'en they neither doe eate nor drinke any thing till the next day. They doe vse to heare Sermons on holy Friday at night, they obserue the day of the resurrection with greate solemnnitie, with the two other daies following, and also the sunday next following, so that Saint Thomas on that day did put his hands into Christis side, they do keepe it with greate solemnnitie, acknowledging thereby that the same was no fantasie or dreame. Also they keepe holy with greate deuotion the Ascension day & Trinitie Sunday, & the Assumption of our lady, her birth, & Candlemas day, & Christmas day, & all the Apostles & Sundates, as wel the Christians as y Gentiles. And they with greate deuotion keep y first day of July in the honour of S. Thomas, they could yelde no reason or cause why they doe obserue that daie. They haue frysers of Negroes which doe liue verye chassly. Also there are Nunnes of the same order. Their Priests doe liue verye chassly, soz if so be that they doe not so, they are deprivied from celebrating. There can be no separating of the man and woman, but well or ill they must liue together till death doe separate them. They receiue the Sacrament thre times in the yeare, they haue amongst them greate Doctours, and open schooles, in the which are read the Prophets; and also there were in times past olde auient doc-

Negro
friers pro-
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tors

doctors, which haue left the Scriptures of the olde & newe Testament well expounded or interpreted. Their apparell is after the order of y Moyses. They haue their day which they do call Intercalor, which is of 40. houres. They know how the day passeth away by the Sun, & the night by the Stars, for they haue no clocks. The Captaine generall was very glad of the compayne of this Joseph & his brother to carry them to Portingale, for whom he commanded a gud cabin shold be giuen them in his ship.

Of the great Fleet of ships that was sent out of Calicut to fight with the Captaine Generall, and what was the cause that ours did not fight with them. And also of his departure from Coching toward Portingale, and how in his way he was driuen to Cananor.

Chap. 40.



He Captaine Generall being in this harbour, ther came vnto him a messenger fro the king of Cananor, & also from the king of Coulan (they both being great princes) in y kingdome of Malabar, requesting him to come to their ports or harbours, for y they would gine him sufficient lading for his ships, better cheape then in Coching, with verye many other offers of friendship. To whom he made answere by a messenger that he sent, yelding vnto them most hearty thanks, certifieng them y at this present he could not go to lade at their ports, for that he had begun to take in the same already at Coching, notwithstanding at his next retourne he wold do so, immediatly after y he had laden his ships, there was seirne a sea boord a fléete of 25. great ships, besides other small vessels. And y king of coching having notice therof, sent word forthwith to the Captaine Generall, y there was in that fléete xvi. thousand fighting men which came onely to none other purpose, but to seek him out, and therefore if so bee

A greate
Fleete of
enimies.

“ Wh. that

that he should haue any need of men, to send him woyrd, & he would prouide him therof. The Captaine Generall answere, that as yet he had no such neede, for that with those few that he had with him, he trusted in God, to give them to vnderstand, what ill councell they had taken, to come & seeke him out, for that hee had well experimeted theyr strength. Truth it was the Generall beleueed stedfastlye as hee hadde spoken, in respect of that which hee before had past in the harbour or porke of Calycut. First with ten great shippes which hee founde there, as also with certeine that were there a grounde. And although the enmyes were scouring vp and downe in the Sea, yet therby it was apparent that they durst not come to the place where hee was, by a league, for all that they shewed themselves to be set in order to fight. The Captaine Generall perceiving theyr intent, caused to wey Ankor, and having his Shalles spread abroade, departed with all his Fleete towarde his enmyes, in the which there went those Pledges Malabars, whiche the King of Cochinch hadde given unto him. Nowbeit his determination was, to retorne againe to Cochinch, and so to deliuer them. And going after this sorte, there fell vpon them on a so dayne such a greate storme which came with a contrarye wylde, that hee was faine to retorne and to come to an Ankor againe, so that hee coulde not beare with his enmyes.

The next daye following which was the tenth daye of Januarie, 1501, the wylde came about in such sorte and so large, that the one Fleete might laye the other abyde. The Captaine Generall being desirous therof, founde vpon a soideine missing one of his greate Shippes, in the which went Sancho de Toar, vnto whome it did well appere, by reason it was night, that hee had forgotten himselfe. And so because that next vnto this shipp, this was the pricipallest of all the Fleete, in the which were placed the chieffest men, it was not thought good to fight without him, the rather for that in

the others he hadde but fewe men, and of them the most parte were sicke, and of the enmyes were so manye as the king of Cochinch had sent him woyrd.

And as the wylde was prosperous to goe forwarde on his voyage towarde Portingale, and verye stant to retorne towarde Cochinch, hee departed, making his course into the Sea with his whole Fleete. After whome the whole Fleete of the enmyes followed, all that daye till it was night, and then they lost theyr companye, and so retourned. Thus going in his course, he beganne to comfort those Nayres which were deliuered vnto him for Pledges, with manye pleasant tales, the whiche was the caule that they fell to theyr meate, beeing thre dayes there, & had eaten nothing of ffe dates of theyr sailing, and vpon the xv. of Januarie, he came within sight of Cananor, whiche lyeth flat north from Cochinch, and is in the coast of Malabar, xxxi. leagues from Cochinch.

Cananor is a greate citie, consisting of houses made of Earth, and couered ouer with broade stone or slate, there are in this Citie manye Hoires that are great merchants, whiche trade in all kinde of merchaundise. There is adioyning vnto this Citie a godlye Ware, but there is in this Coast no great store of Pepper, no more then doth serue their owne turnes. Nowbeit they haue greate store of Ginger, Cardamomon, Tamarindos, Mirabolanos, Canystola, and such lyke. There belong vnto this Citie certeine pales of water, wherin there do breed Lagartos, the whiche are lyke vnto the Crocodiles that are in the river of Nil, which are so great that they doe eate men, if so be that they maye come by them. Their heads are great, and they haue two orders of teeth, their breath is as sweet as muske, and their bodies are couered ouer with shels. Also about this citie there are in bushes great adders, which are very full of poison, so that with their breath onely they do kill men: also there are Bats so great as kites, whiche in their heads do seeme much like vnto a Storre, hauing such manner of teeth also.

Vernak-
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ward Por-
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The di-
scription
of the
towne of
Cananor.

Drugs for
the Pothe-
caries.

Every
quintall
is 100.
xweight.

These the Gentiles doe feede vpon, for that they are pleasant and swete. They haue mozeouer in this Citie plentie both of fish, flesh, & fruits, & as for rice y commeth vnto the from other places. The king is a Gentile, and a Bramene, hee is counted to be one of the thre of the prouince of Malabar, but he is not so rich nor of so great a power adis the king of Calycut, nor yet as the king of Coulan. Unto this harbour arrived the Captaine General, and came to an ankoz, (not onely for that the king had requested him so to doe) but also for that he minded to take in there some Cynamon, whereof hee had none yet a bordre, so that there hee tooke in 400. Quintalls, and might haue had much more, but he would not take it, wherefore it was thought that he wanted money: Wherevpon the king tooke occasion to send him word, that if so be the lacke of money were the cause that hee tooke no more thereof, or any other splices, hee was then much to blam, for that hee woulde trust him with much more if neede so required, vntill hee returned backe againe, hee or any other. Hee was the willinger to send him this offer, for that he knewe the true dealing of the Portingales, and howe well they maintained theyre promise: and for that hee did beare vs so greate god will, the Captaine Generall made him aunswere, giuing him greate god thankes for the lyberall offers hee hadde made him: promising that if hee lived, hee woulde enforme the king his maister of the greate god will that hee doth beare him. And once this, hee maye bee assured to haue him alwayes for his friende. After this was deli-

uered vnto him an Embakkadour, whome
the king of Cannanor sent to the king
of Portingale to increase a
further friendship be-
twene them.

What

What had chaunced to the Captaine generall vntill such time that hee arriued at Monsanbique, and from thence to Lishborne, and how Sancho de Toar, did discouer the Ilande of Sofala.

Chap. 41.



The middes of that goulfe, and on the last day of Januari, he tooke a great ship, richly laden with Merchandise, and perciuing that it belonged to the King of Cambaya, he would not meddle therewith, but rather sent him word that his comming to the Indias was not to make warres with any, but if so be that he minded so to doe, it shall be with the King of Calycut, for that he had broken the peace he had made with hym: onely out of that ship he tooke a Pilot, for to safecoduct hym, till he had past the gulf. And he being in the saime vnder saile, on a certaine night, which was the xiij. of February, they lost the ship of Sancho de Toar, which in a storne, that rose sodainly vpon them, being hard by the shore side, violentlye they ranne vpon it, by meanes whereof, there was kindled in the saime a great fire, so that nothing was sauued, but onely the men. Following their course in this tempest, they past by Mylynde, onely for that they could not take harboz there, nor on any other land but only Monsanbique, which he tooke in his waye, as well for the want they had of wa-ter, as also to new rig their shippes, for y they went all open.

A ship of
the fleet
cast awaie

In the meane while he sent Sancho de Toar, to discouer Sofala, and from thence to retourne towarde Portingale, with relation therof. The shippes beeing all in a readinesse, they returned toward the Cape Buena esperansa, and ther by reason of another great storne, that ouer-toke them, there was shot out of a ship a great pece of Ordinaunce, which ship was never seene after in all that boyage. After so many great and cruell stormes, and other great daungers, which are innumerale to write of, he past the foresaide Cape, the xxii. of May, which fell on Whitsundaye,

Wh.iiii.

and

Diego Di
as found
at Capo
Verde, &
his voy-
age.

The illād
of Sofala
discou-
red.

and so following their course, came to an Ankoz at Cabo Verde, where he found Diego Diaz (whose company he had lost before, when as he went toward the Indias) who was driven into the red Sea, where he did winter, and lost his boate, and where also dyed the most part of his men, and for that his Pilot durst not venture to carry them to the Indias, did return toward Portingale. And so after that he came out of the red Sea, what with hunger, thirst, and other diseases, all his men were consumed sauing seauen persons: wherein God of his great goodnesse shewed a miracle, for somuch as in many dayes before, they were not able to governe their sailes, for that they were so fible and weake. The Captain generall seeing that ther came no more ships, departed towards Lishborne, wherevnts he came the last daye of July in the yeare of our Lord 1501. And after that he was arriuied, in came the ship, which shot off the peice of Ordinaunce in the Storne, before that he doubled the Cape Buena esperansa, and after him came also Sancho de Toar, who went to discouer Sofala, and made relation thereof to be a small Iland, standing hard to the firme lande, and that it was inhabited by blacke men, which are called Cafres, and that out of the firme lande there comineth much golde, where, as they say, there are mynes thereof. And for that cause there goe out of the Indias thether many Mores, that receive the same in trucke of Merchandize of small valem. Moreouer he brought with him a More, which was giuen him in payne of one of his men, which he sent into y firme land for to view the same. This More gane large information thereof, as heareafter I shall declare. With this last ship there did returne vnto Portingale, of twelue that went for the Indias, onely sixe: the other sixe were lost.

¶ How Iohn de la Nueua, went for Captaine general of the third Fleet that was sent to the Indias, & what hee did after his arriuall there, & how from thence he returued toward Portingale.

Chap. 42.

In



In this yeare of our Lord 1501, the King of Portingale supposing that all contention and strife in Calycut was finished, & that y trade was settled as well there as in Quiloa and Sofala, and for that he had sent the selfe same

yeare for that purpose one Pedro Aluares:

therefore he thought best not to send any more then 3. ships & a Carnell, of y which two caried Merchandize to Sofala, & the other two to Calycut. Of this Fleete he made Generall one called Iohn de la Nueua, born in Galyzia, & this charge was giuen him, for y he was accopted to be a balyant Gentleman: moreouer, Francisco de Nuoyys, Diego, Barboso, & Hernando de la pyna, wer appointed for his captains. Ther went in this Fleet no more then lxxv. men. That which the king had giuen him in commandement to do, was this, that in his way he shoulde touch at the Ilande of S. Blaze. And being come thether, if it shoulde so chaunce, that he shoulde finde missing any of his ships, that then he shoulde there remaine ten dayes, and from thence he shoulde depart toward Sofala, and being there, if so be that ther were settled a Factorie, to discharge the Merchandize the which were appoin- ted for that place. From the which he might haue recourse vnto the Indias. And if so be that he found not all thing so, that then he shoulde trauell with all diligence, and as much as in him lay, to settle the same before he shoulde bee from thence: which being finished, that then he shoulde leaue for Factor of that place Aluoro de Braga, with all such Mer- chandize as wer appointed, which went in the Carnell. Frō thence he shuld go for Quiloa, & after y he had bene ther, he shuld keepe his right course toward Calicut. And if so bee that he shuld finde ther as yet Pedro Aluares, to know whe- ther he stand in any need of him, & that he shuld obey him as his general, & wil him to settle a factory in Sofala, if it were not done alredy. This general being departed frō Lishborn, he came safly to y Iland of S. Blaze, wher in a brach of a tree was foud a shoo, & in y same was a letter whiche made mention, y Pedro de Tayde captain of y flēt of Pedro Alua-

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Indias.

res Cabral, which was bound to Portingale was pass by, and so making further relation what had chanced unto him in calycut, and of the god entertainment they had in Coching, where as then did remaine some of our men, and also how the King of Cananor shewed himselfe very courteous. This as it appeared, was written by Pedro de Tayde, to aduertise all such Captaines as shold passe by to calycut. The Captaine generall with the other Captaines perusing this letter, did then determine, y it was not requisit, to leaue the Caruell in Sofala, for that they had but few men, which was not aboue fourre score. And with this they thought it conuenient to go to Quiloa, where they founde a banished man, whom Pedro Aluares had left there, who likewise informed the Generall, what Pedro Aluares had pass in Calicut, the which he had learned of certaine Moyses, and also of the shippes that he had lost. From thence he went to Mylinde, where he talked with the King, which tolde him as much more as the banished man had done. And hauing the same for certaine, he went ouer to the Coast of the Indias, to the which he came in November, and fell to an Ankor in An-sadina, where he thought conuenient to take in his water. And being there arrived, there came in vpon a sodaine, seauen great shippes of cambaya, which were bounde into the Straights. The Moyses wold haue fought with our fleete, but our ordinaunce was the cause that they durst not lyes abord, and so they went their way. After this, the Captaine generall departed to Cananor: where he talked with the King, which certified him of that which had likewise pass in Calycut with Pedro Aluares, and what he had done, and how he offered him lading for those shippes which he had brought with him. Also he certified him, how desirous he was to be at the King of Portingales commaundement: yet for all these faire wordes, the Captaine generall woulde not take in there any lading, vntill such time he had ben at Coching with the Factor, toward which place he departed, and in his way he tooke a ship which appertained unto y Moyses of Calycut, the which defended hit selfe very valyauntly, but

but afterward he commaunded to set the same a fire. And being arived at Coching, the Factor with the rest of his company went to visite the Captaine generall abord his ship, who tolde him that the King was greatly offend with Pedro Aluares, for y he went his way without speking with him, & for carrieng away his pledges: yet this notwithstanding, both he & the rest of his company wer alwayes courteously entertained. In y night they wer brought into his pallaice, y there they might remaine: & if so be y in y day they wer any thing desirous to walk abroad, then they wer tended vpon by certain of his Nayres, which were commanded to attend vpon them, & keepe them company for feare of the Moyses, for that they did not loue them, but rather were desirous to kill them, insomuch, that before they went to the Pallaice, they did one night set fire to the house, wherein they did ly: whereof the King hauing knowledge, from thence forth he had them to his Pallaice, and so commaunded from that time forwarde the Nayres to take a care of them. Moreover, he was told what ill sales he shoulde finde there of such Merchaundize as he had brought, for that the Moyses had perswaded the Merchants of the Countrey to give byttle for the same: and also aduised those that sell the Pepper and other Spices, that they shoulde not sell the same but for ready money, and not in trucke of Merchaundize: & therfore they tolde him that if so be he had brought no money to buye their Spices withall, that then he shoulde make no reckoning of the same. And therfore for that the Generall had brought none, he would tarrie there no longer, but returned to Cananor, to take in there his lading, where the King was so great a friend to the King of Portingale, that when he vnderstood, that he had brought no money, he remained his suretie for a thousand Quintall of Pepper, & for fiftie of Ginger, & for soure hundred & fiftie Quintall of Cynamon: besides some linnen cloath, which is made of Al-gadon, vntill such time he had made sales of all such Merchaundize as he had brought with him, which he had left in Cananor, in the hands of a Factor & thos crincors, and so Euere Quintall
is a 100. weight,
C. from

The mal
tioulesse
of the
Moyses.

The king
of Calicut
sent lxxx.
Paraos to
fight with
the captain
General

from thence he shoulde returne with the first winde, þ which as then did begin to blow, and therefore he woulde tarry no longer. To the intent therefore they shuld not depart without their lading, he shewed the Captaine generall this pleasure. The Captaine generall seeing this his curteous dealing, did command vnto his custodie certaine of his men, the which he left with him, for that he had sent with Pedro Aluarez Cabral Embassadours to Portingale. This lading beeing taken in, then on the xv. of December, ther did appere in the Sea lxxx. Paraos, which wer past the Mount Dely. Whereof the King hauing knowledge, he sent word imme-
diately to the Captaine generall, that these were the Fleete of Calicut, that came onely to set vpon him, and therefore it were god he shuld command his men to disimbarke them-
selves & their ordinaunce: vnto which þ captain general made
answerc, that he woulde not so doe. For if so be that the
enimies came with that intent, he had a hope in God þ he
should be able to defend himselfe: and with that he put him-
selfe in a readinesse. The next day following, which was the
xvi. day of December, before þ dawning of þ day, ther was
come into the Baye to the number of 100. ships and paraos,
which wer all full of Mores, beeing sent of purpose, for that
the King of calicut was informed, that they were there ta-
king in of their lading, so that he thought by that meanes
that neither ship nor man shoulde escape, and therefore they
lay as they did about the Baye. As soone as the Captaine
generall had viewed them, he remoued from the place wher
he was at an Ankoy, and brought himselfe into the middes
of the Baye, leaving order with his ships, that they shoulde
lay on load with their ordinaunce which they had, with the
which he commaunded them forthwith to begin to shot off:
which was done in such sort, that they did neuer cease. And
if so be that he had not done so, doubtlesse the enimies wold
haue laid their ships abord, by reason there were so manye:
So that it was vnypossible for him to escape, if God of his
goodnesse had not favoured him, and prouided by his mercie,
that the enimies brought no Ordinaunce with them.

Where-

Wherfore they were the bolder to dispense amongst them
their shot, with the which there were many very sore hurt,
ouer and besides great numbers that were slaine, and their
ships and Paraos sunke, for they durst not venter to lay our
ships abord, nor yet had killed or hurt any of our men. The
fight dured vntill such time it was Sunne set, then the eni-
mies helde vp a flagge. But, for that he feared they meant
thereby some deceipt, he did not leane off shooting: for other-
wise they might haue thought he had so done, for þ he was
wearied, or els for feare. But it was nothing so, for they did
it for the desire they had of peace, in respect of the hurt and
losse of their men, which they had received at our mens
hands, whereby they were driven to such necessitie, that if
so be that the winde had serued, they had hoyled vp their
sayles and gone they way, and therefore they kept vp their
flagge. The Captaine generall perceiving their meaning,
(and for that the most part of his Ordinaunce was broken,
with the continual shooting thereof, did answere them with
another flagge, which was done by the councell and consent
of the other Captaines: and immediately vpon the same,
they sent a More, which came in a small Boate vnto him,
whose message was, to demand peace till the next day, which
was by him graunted, with this condition, that they shoulde
tarrie no longer in the Baye, but go into the open Sea, & so
they did. The generall (although þ wind was partly against
him) made likewise his course into the Sea, although it wer
troublesome vnto him. The Mores could not doe the lyke,
for their shippes and Paraos can beare no sayle but with a
forewinde. Yet for all the trouble that was past, the Gene-
rall came to an Ankoy hard by them, and for all that he blev
in the night a great and vigilant watch, by the which they
hearde the enimies rowing in their boates towardes our
Fleete, yet before that they were knownen, they wer almost
vpon him: their intent as it was presupposed, was to set our
Fleete a fire. The Captaine Generall fearing this, com-
maunded to byere more of the Cabells, that he might bee
the farther off from them.

Cc. iij.

And

This flag
was a sign
& request
of peace.

The Conquest

And perceiving that the enimies did yet followe them, he then commanded a piece to be shot of at them, with þ which they were afraide, & so went their way: & as þ wind came of the shore somewhat faire, they hoysed vp their sailes, and followed their course toward Calicut. The Captaine generall gaue God great thanks, þ he had so delivered him from his enimies, & so taking his leaue of the King of Cananor, departed toward Portingale, where he arrived in safetie with all his ships. After that he was departed, there came to Cananor one of his men, called Gonfallo Rixoto, which was taken in Calicut for Captaine, whome the King sent with a messenger to the Captaine generall. The effect thereof was, excusing himselfe of all that was done unto Pedro Aluares, and further also what hurt he had done unto his fléete in Cananor. Moreouer, he offered him, if so be that he would come to Calicut, to give him his full lading of Spices, and sufficient Pledges for the assurance of the same.

they arive
safely at
Portingal

¶ How Vasco de la Gama retourned for Captaine generall to the Indias with a Fleete of ships, and what hee did till he came to Quiloa. Chap. 43.

The iii.
voyage to
the Indias
1502.



He King of Portingale hauing great desire to reuenge, the iniuries & treason that the king of Calicut had done unto his seruants, did therefore cause to be made in a readines a great fléete of ships, with the which he did determine to make warres against him. And hauing gien the charge thereof to Pedro Aluares Cabral, did upon certaine iust considerations take the same from him againe, and in his stead appointed for Generall, Don Vasco de la Gama, who departed from Lishborne, the third of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1502, and had the charge of thirtene great ships and two Carnells, of the which besides himselfe went for Captaines Pedro Alonso de Aquilar, Philipe de Castro, Don Luys Cotsaio, Franco de Conya, Pedro de Tayde, Vasco Caruallo, Vincete Sodre,

and

of the East India.

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and Blas Sodre, cousin germaines to the Captaine general, Gil Hernand, cousin to Larencio de la Mina, Ivan Lopes Perestrelo, Rodrigo de Casteneda, Rodrigo de Abree, and of the caruells, Pedro Raphael & Diego Peres. They carreyed also a Carnell vntwought, which they shoulde make an ende of in Montanbique, of the which there shoulde goe for Captaine one called Hernand Rodignes Badafas: besides this xv. saile ther remained making in a redines other ffe ships, of the which there shoulde go for Captaine generall, one Steuen de la Gama, who departed the fift day of May, next after following. After that the Captaine generall had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with his whole fléete, being at the furthest end of the currents, he sent the same to Montanbique, to remaine there whilist he went to Sofala, accyding as he was commaunded by the king. He carried in his companie fourre of the smalleshippes of the whole fléete. His going thether was not onely to see the scituacion of the same, and to see whe- He goeth
ther there were any place conuenient there for to make a
first to Sofala to re-
grate their
goldc.

ther there were any place conuenient there for to make a
first to Sofala to re-
grate their
goldc.

settle the factorie there. After that this was ended, there passed betwene them sundrie presents from the one to the other. And hauing concluded, the Captaine generall departed from thence, and retourned to Monsanbique, and in going out of the river there was lost one of the ships, but the men were all sauied. Being arriued at Monsanbique he immediatly renewed with the gouvernour the olde friend-ship which in times past had bene betwene them, and by his condesent was left there a factor, which was deliuered unto him with other moe of our men, which remained in the factorie for no other purpose but to prouide alwaies vnuallly for such fléetes as shoulde touch there, either ge- A house
apointed
for the
Factory.

ing or comming from the Indias. This being finished, & hauing made an end of the Carnell with all his ordinance placed, he departed toward Quiloa, with intent to bring Cc.iii. him

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him to be tributarie to the king of Portingale, the order whereof he carryed with him in his Register, which hee meant to put in execution, by reason of the euill interteinment he gaue to Pedro de Aluares Cabral. And beeing come to this harbour or port, the king went to visit him, a seaborde, which hee did onely for the feare that he was in, for the iniurie which he had done to Pedro Aluares. After that he was come thether, there arrived also Steuen de la Gama, that came with other fine ships, which he departed withall out of Portingale. Now when the Captaine Generall esteemed the king but for a lyar, and had got him a seaborde, he woulde not trust him on his promise any further, but did immedietly threaten him, that if so be that hee woulde not pay tribute to the king of Portingale, he woulde commaund him to prison, vnder the hatches of his shippe. With the feare hereof, he promiseth to giue him yerele two thousand Miticaes of gold, and for the assurance of the payement thereof, he gaue in pledge a principall Moore, whome they doe call Matamede Aleones, one whome he hated, for that he was a feard least he wold take the kingdome from him, for that he himselfe hadde blurped the same from the right king. After that he salue himselfe at libertie, and in the citie, he woulde not according to his promise send his tributes, but rather hoped that the Captaine Generall wold haue caused the pledge to be killed, by reason whereof he shoulde be ridde of an enimie. But the Moore, seeing that the tribute came not, was faine to pay the same himselfe, and therevpon the Captaine Generall did deliuer him.

How the Captaine Generall did take a ship of the Moores of Meca, at the mount Dely, & what chaunced vnto him thereby. chap. 44.

GHis being done, the Captaine Generall, went forward on his voyage, toward Mylynde, where hee staide to take in his water, and to see the king: and from

of the East India.

from thence he kepte his course towarde the Indias, and at the mount Dely, he met with a ship of the Moores of Meca, that was bound to Calycut, which was taken by our men, for that they did defende themselues verie stoutlye.

The shippe beeing rendered, the Captaine Generall went a boord the same, where he commaunded to come before him the owners thereof, and all the principallest Moores that were moore there. He willed them also to bring with them all such kinde of merchaundise as they had, threatening them that if they did it not, he woulde cause them to be throwen into the sea. They aunswere him that they had nothing, for that all theyr goods were in Calycut. The Captaine Generall shewed himselfe to be offendid with that aunswere, and did therefore commaunde one of them to be throwne into the sea, bound hand and foot. The others with the feare they had conceiued to see this punishment, did deliuer all that they had, whiche was much, and that verie god merchaundise, which was immediatly commaunded to be deliuered vnto Diego Hernando Correa, that went for Factor to Cochinchina, and so he gave order that the same should be carryed a boord another shippe.

All the children which were a boord the sayde shippe, were carryed aboarde the Generall, for that he had made promise to make them all Friers, and to place them in our Ladys Church of Belem, as afterwarde he did. The rest of the merchaundise whiche were of the meauer sorte, and of small value, hee gaue the spoyle of them to his men. The shippe beeing vnladen of the goods, commaundement was giuen to Steuen de la Gama, to set the same a fire. This was done after that the Moores were driven vnder the Hatches, to reuenge the death of those that were slaine in Calycut.

This shippe beeing sette a fire, by the soresayde Steuen de la Gama, and other two, they leaped then into their boates, leauing the shippe burning. The Moores that were within the same, after that they perceyued the

the Shipp to burne, did breake open the hatches: by meanes whereof they were set at libertie: and with the water the ship had within it did quench the fire. The Captain Generall seeing this, forthwith commaunded Steuen de la Gama to goe once more, and laye the same aborde, to the which he went with sundry of his men, with their weapons.

Desperate minds in time of extremite. Howbeit the Mores did defende themselves as desperate men, not fearing death. Some there were of them that tolke firebrandes and threw the same into one of the ships, with determination to set the same a fire. Others y threw the like at their heads. And for that the night drew on, they left them there, because the Captaine Generall was not of that minde, they should remaine there in the darke, for feare least the Mores shoulde kill some of our men.

Howbeit he gaue commaundement, that the soyleyd shipp shoulde be watched, that the Mores shoulde not runne to lande, which was hard by. The Mores all that night did nothing else but criе out to Mahoma to succour and deliver them from vs. The dawning of the day beeing come, the Captaine Generall commaunded once more that Steuen de la Gama with some of the Marriners of his shipp shoulde goe and lay the Mores ship a bord, and set the same a fire againe, which was so done. Now after that he hadde made the Mores to flie and to ioyne themselves in the poole of their ship, fighting alwaies with them, notwithstanding the which, certeine of his Marriners and Gunners would not leaue them vntill such time the ship was hale burnt. When the Mores saue the fire, some there were that leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands, which they carried swimming, with determination to kill all those that did pursue them with boates, whom lyke wild men desperatly bent they did set vpon. Yet for all that there were many that were hurt, for that they came neare to our boates side. Howbeit the most parte of them was slaine, and those that remained in the Shipp were drowned, within the same, for that the ship did sink. There were of them in all thre hundred, whereof there was not

one

one that did escape; and of our men there were some that were hurt.

How the Captaine Generall made peace and friend-ship with the king of Cananor, and afterwarde departed toward Calycut. Chap. 45.



From hence went the Captaine Generall to Cananor, and being come thither to an ankoz, he sent y Embassadoz which he brought with him for the king, who told him that he was come, and that his desire was to speake with him. The king herevpon commaunded to be made a bridge of Timber, which entered into the

An embas-
sador sent
to y king
of Cana-
nor.

water as farre as it was possible. The same was couered ouer with Carpets, and other rich clothes, and vpon it toward the lande side, was framed a house lykewile made of timber, couered ouer as the bridge afore sayd, which was made for the meeting of the king and the Captaine Generall. The king being the first that was come, came accompanied with ten thousand Nayres, and with many Trumpets, and other instrumentes, which went sounding and playeng before him. After that the king was entered into this house, there were placed the Nayres on the Bridge, thole that were appointed to receive the Captaine Generall. Who standing there, amone came the Generall in his Boate accompanied with all the Boates of the flete, beeing richly couered ouer and set out with theyz flagges, besides that, they carried certeine Ordinaunce in the proer of theyz Boates. Also there were many Drummies and Trumpets with them, and with shooting of the Ordinance the Captaine Generall disembarked himselfe, beeing accompanied with all his Captaines, and with sundry of his men, which went all armed.

The re-
eting of y
king and
the Cap-
taine Ge-
nerall at
Cananor
1502.

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There were carried before him two great Basons of siluer and gilt, which were to wash his hands in, covered over with fine pieces of Copall, and other fine things which they doe greatly esteem in the Indias. The Nayres viewing the same, did meruaile to see the delicateesse of our men.

The present which the king of Portingale sent to the king of Cananor.

With this the king came as farre forth to receive the captaigne generall as the gate of his place, where he imbraced him, and afterwarde they returned together to the place from whence the king came forth, where the Captaine generall had commaunded to be set a couple of chaires, vpon the which, although it was not the kings custome to sit, yet he did at that time for the Captaine Generalls sake. At this present was concluded the friendshipe betweens the king of Portingale and him, so that immediatly after that the Factorie was settled in Coching, minding to doe the lyke in Cananor, where as soone as the same was done, he wold lade certeine of his shippes, and after all this the Captaine Generall departed toward Calycut.

How the Captaine Generall came to the port of Calycut, and what hee did there. Chap. 46.

Erom hence the Captaine Generall beeing come to the harbour of Calycut, afore they were knowne, did take certaine Paraos in the which were to the number of fiftye Malabars, that could not escape. The Captaine Generall would not at the first comming doe the citie any hurt with his ordinaunce, vntill such time he hadde seene whether the king woulde send him any messenger or not. And tarrieng for the same, there came

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came a boorde him, a boate with a flag in the same, in the which there was a Frier of the order of Saint Fraunces, whome after that our men had sight of him, they iudged to be one of those that were in the company of Aries Correa, & remained captiue. This frier being entred into the ship, said Deo gracias, by the same he was knowne to be a Moore, howbeit to excuse himselfe he said that he came after that sort, that they myght the rather consent unto his comming a boorde, being sent with a message from the king to the Captaine Generall, about the setteling of a trade in Calicut. Into this the Captaine generall made aunswere, commanding him not to speake thereof, vntill such time the king had satisfied him for all that he had taken in the Factory, when he consented to the death of Aries Correa, and the others that were with him. In this matter they spent thre daies with messages to & fro, without anye conclusion, for that the Moores did withstande the same.

The Captaine general perciuing y all these delates were but lies to spend the time, he sent him then word that he minded not to tarrie for answere any longer then none, & the same to be with effect, and to complice with him, or else he would make him most cruell warre, with fire & sword, and that forthwith he wold begin it vpon such his subiects as he had taken prisoners. And because the king shold not thinke them to be words onely, he commaunded to bring him a running glasse of an houre, and therevpon he tolde the Moore that went with the message, that of those Glassees there shold runne so many, and as soone as they were ended, without any further delay he would commaund all that to be done, which he had sent him word off. But all this could not moue the king to performe anye thing that he had promised, he was so inconstaunce and given to change, with euerye vaine saying of the Moores: and the outward shew that he made of peace, was but feigned, by reason of the feare he had conceiued in himselfe, to see so greate a fleet in his port or harbour, by y which he feared to receive

Do. it.

The
Moores
make him
keepe no
promise
with the
Captaine
Generall,
nor feare
his power

great

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great losse, whereof the Mores did assure him the contrarie, which was the occasion that he kepte no promise. Upon this the Captaine generall as soone as the time was come, commaunded to bee shotte off a peice, which was the signe he gaue to the other Captaines, to commaund those Malabars to bee hanged, which were departed amongst the flotte. After that they were executed, he commaunded their teste and handes to bee cut off, which were throwne into a Parao and sent a shoare with two Boates well armed, and a Letter for the king of Calicut written in the Arabian tongus, in which he signified vnto him in such maner, he woulde paye him for all his faigned lyes which he had spoken vnto this present. And as for his kinges gods, which he did detaine in his hands, he woulde recover them a hundred folde. After all this, he gaue commandement, that in the night there shuld be brought thre ships as neare to the shoare as they could, that the next day without ceasing there shoulde be shot all the great Ordinaunce that they had at the Citie, with the which there was great hurt done, besides the kings house which was ouerthrown therewith, and sundrie other houses of the principall inhabitants. This being done, he departed towarde Coching, leaing to kepe that Coast ffe shippes which were well appointed, of the which was named for Captaine Generall one called Vincente Sodre, to remaine with them in the Indias, that therewith he might goe and discouer the straights of Meca, and the coast of Cambaia.

How the Captaine Generall came to Coching, and what he did there, & also how the king of Calicut sent to traine him thereto, for that there he would traiterously haue taken him, and last of all he wrote a Letter to the king of Coching.
Chap. 47.

The

of the East India.



The Captaine generall being come to the Port or Harbour of Coching, when the king had notice thereof, he sent him before he came a land, certaine Pledges to remaine in the ship for his assurance. And afterward he came in person and met him. In this visitation the King did deluyer vnto him Steuen Gyl, with all the others that remained in his Countrey, and in recompence of that, the Captaine generall delivered him a letter, which the King of Portingale had sent him, rendring vnto him most hartie thankes, for the god will he alwaies shewed to Pedro Aluares Cabral: and that he was well pleased and contented, to haue a Factory settled in Coching. Also there was deliuern vnto him a Present, which the King his Master had sent him: which was a rich Crowne of golde, full of Jewells, a Cholar of golde all inameld, two Fountaines of siluer wrought, two Arras clothes of Imagery worke, a costly Pavillion, a peice of crimson Dratten, and another of Kendall, all which the King did receive with great pleasure. And for the he vnderstod not wheresoever every of these things serued, he requested to be informed of the same. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded the Pavillion or Tent to be armed, in the which was concluded a further peace. Also he gaue him a house to settle therein the Factorie. Moreover, the price was agreed vpon, how he woulde deliver the Spices & Drugs that were gathered in his countrey: of all these things ther was a contract made & set down, which was confirmed by the King. And for a further assurance therof, the King of Coching, sent to the King of Portingale a Present, which was two Bracelets of golde, set with stones, a towell which the Mores doe vse of cloath of siluer, which was two yeards & a halfe of length, two great pieces of linnen Cloth, which they doe call Bengala, made of Cotten woll, which was excellent fine, a stone of the bignes of a walnut, which they doe take out of the head of a beast: they call the same in the Indias, Bulgoldolt, of the which

The king of Portingale's present sent to the king of Coching.

The king with stones, a towell which the Mores doe vse of cloath of siluer, which was two yeards & a halfe of length, two great pieces of linnen Cloth, which they doe call Bengala, made of Cotten woll, which was excellent fine, a stone of the bignes of a walnut, which they doe take out of the head of a beast: they call the same in the Indias, Bulgoldolt, of the which

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D.ij.

there

there are but few found, and these are god against all person. The house in the which they determined to settle their Factorie being graunted, possession thereof was immediate- ly taken by Diego Hernandus, and other two which were Notaries: the one was called Lorenzo Moreno, & the other Aluoro was with others. Whiles the Captaine generall's ship was taking in of his lading, there came a messenger from the King of Calicut unto him, saing: that if so bee that he would retourne to Calicut, he woulde restore unto him all that had bene taken from him, and that he shoulde settle a Trade there. The Captaine generall, after that hee had considered vpon the message, commannded the messenger to prison, for this intent, to reuenge himselfe on him, if so be that the King did lye, since he had so oftentimes decei- vued him. And being now determined to goe towarde Caly- cut, which was more to see whether that he coulde resouer the Merchaundize that were taken, then for anye hope hee had of the King's friendship, would for that cause go alone, leauing behinde him for his Lieuetenant, Steuen de la Gama. The Captaines that remained were soze against his going alone, and especially after that sort, for feare of mis- chaunce: yet he woulde not be perswaded but to goe, saing that along that Coast there was Vincente Sodre with the other ships, that were appointed to remaine in the Indias: and if so be that he were driven to any necessarie, hee woulde ioyne with them. As soone as the King was informed that he was come to Calicut, he sent him immediatly word, that the next day he woulde comply with him for all such goods, as had bene taken from Pedro Aluares, and afterwarde hee woulde renue the Trade, and settle the Factorie. But con- trarie to these his wordes, as soone as he had knowledge that the Captaine generall was come alone, vpon a sodayne he commannded to be made in a readinesse xxxiiii. Paraos, with intent to set vpon him, & so to take him if it were pos- sible. And indeed with such a sodaine came vpon him, that to escape them, he was faine to cut one of his Cables, which he had out, and so made saile. And as the winde was of the

This mes-
senger was
one of his
chief chap-
laines.

land, he went somewhat further off from those Paraos, yet for all that they did not giue him ouer, but alwaies follow- ed him with such a vehemencie, that hadde it not bene for Vincente Sodre and the others which kept along y Coast, he had bene taken, but yet at length they were faine to run their way. Being thus escaped, he retourned to Cochinch, & as soone as he came thether he commannded the messenger to be hanged, whom the King of Calicut had sent unto him: for the which deed hee remained greatly affrighted, when the same came to his knowledge. But seeing now that by no means he could take him, he determined then to preue, whe- ther he could perswade the King of Cochinch to give him no lading, and also not to consent to any Factorie for him in his Countrey.

How the Moores were the principall doers heerein, that moued the King to write concerning that matter by one of his Chaplaines to the King of Cochinch after this manner.



Professor, The king of Car-
tia understand that thou fauourest Chi-
ristians, and that thou hast receiued them in
to thy Citie, & there dost give them both la-
ter to
ding & victualls. It is possible thou dost not
foresee what daunger may insue therof, & also
y king of
Cochinch
how much thou dost displeasure me. I do re-
quest the y thou remember what great friends we haue ben
till this present, & now thou dost procure my displeasure, in
especiall for so small a matter, as is y maintaining of thosse
Christians, which are thenes, y accustome to rob in other
mens Countries. From henceforth my request is, y thou do
not receive them, neither yet give them spicies: in the which
thou shalt not onely shew me pleasure, but also binde me to
requit thy god will in what thou shalt command. I wil not
now further request y same, for I beleue thou wil do it w
out further intretie, as I wold for the in any matter of im-
portance. This letter being perusid by the king of Cochinch,
who was honest & true in al his delings, he was not moued
there-

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therewith, but answered the King of Calicut, after this sort.

The answer of the King of Calicut to the King of Cochinchina, 1505

Q Cannot well tell how it can be done, being a matter of so great a waight, as is to put out of my Cittie those Christians, having received them vpon my word: and to do it so easily as thou doest write. I will never request thee of anye such matter, at the desire of the Mores of Mecca, neither yet vpon the instance of no other Merchauantes, that are Traders to Calicut. In receiving these Christians, and giuing them lading for their shippes, I do beleue that neither to thee nor any other, I doe offence: since that it is a custome we haue amongst vs, to sell our Merchandize to those that will buy them, and to fauour those Merchauants, which doe relort vnto our Countrey. These Christians came to seeke me out farre off, and for that cause I did receive them, & promised to defend them. They are no theues as thou doest feare me them, for they bring great summs of money, in golde and siluer, and Merchandize, wherewith they do trade. Their friendship I doe and will obserue, doing therein but my dutie, and so oughtest thou to doe, and otherwise I will not take thee to be my friend: neither yet oughtest thou or any other be agrēued or offended withall, for that which I doe, is to inrich my Cittie.

With this aunswere the King of Calicut was so sore offended: whereby he tooke occasion to write this letter following.

The reply of the King of Calicut to the King of Cochinchina, 1505

It grieueth me very much, the hatred or enuie thou hast conceiued against me, for that thereby I do perceive thou wilt leauue my friendshippe for those Christians sake, which I take for my great enimies, & ought to be the cause that thou shouldest accept them after the same sort.

Once more therefore I doe returne to desire thee, that thou wilt neither receive them, nor yet giue them their lading for their shippes. For if so be thou wilt not be perswaded, to the contrary, but rather meanest to prosecute thine intent, then

of the East Indias.

I take God to my Judge, and from henceforth I doe protest, that I am not in fault of the damage that will growe vnto thee thereof.

The King of Cochinchina having received this letter, laughed at it, saying to his Chaplaine that was the bringer thereof, that he would doe nothing for feare, but that which he minded to doe should be vpon request, and so ams wered to this letter.

I haue seene thy message, which soundeth as it were these tenings. God who alwaies resisteth pride, doth fauour him that hath Justice & equitie on his side. Since thou art my friend, do not request me so an abhominable and vnlawfull a request, as is to vse treason, especiall amongst Kings, and if there be any other thing that grieueth thee, and is not hurtfull to mine honour, I will doe it, yea, although it were to my losse, which I doe not esteeme in comparison of mine honour. I doe trust that thou wilt take this ams were in god part, and prevent the death of men, and the destruction of thy Countrey. But if so be notwithstanding, thou wilt maintaine thine opinion, God doth well knowe & perceiue that hereof I am in no fault.

The King of Calicut perceiving that the King of Cochinchina did stand so much vpon his reputation, and wold not doe that which he had requested him, did then determine, (the Captain general being once departing) to set vpon him by the waye, and vtterly to destroy him, against whome he commaunded to be made in a readines, a Fleet of xxix. great shippes, that they might encounter with him vpon the Sea, at his departure toward Portingale, supposing, that forasmuch as they went laden, he should be the better able to do them the more harme.

Of the battaile that was fought betweene the Fleet of Calicut and the Captaine generall, as hee was going toward Cananor: & how Vincente Sodre, Pedro

Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres tooke two of these shippes, & how the Captaine generall departed toward Portingale. Chap. 49.



Great
friendship
and
constancie
in
an heathē
Prince.

If all these letters and messages, the King of Cochinchina woulde never make the Captaine generall priuie, vntill such time that he was ready to depart, and then he tolde him, which before he was loth to doe. And for that he shoulde not conceiue and thinke him to be so vaine as to alter his minde to doe as the King of Calicut woulde haue him: he did therefore shewe him selfe to be so constant, and such a friend of the king of Portingale, that for his sake he woulde aduenture to lose his Citie if it were neede. For this the Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, saing, that the King his Master woulde never forget that god will: and in his name he promised to fauour and succour him in such sort, that he shoulde not onely haue his kingdome in great assuraunce, but also that he woulde ayde him to conquere others. He willed him also not to feare those Letters that the King of Calicut hadde sent him, for that they were nothing els but to put him in feare, and bring him to be a traitor as he was, being therefor so destroyed, and that from henceforth there shoulde bee made such cruell wars against him, y he shuld haue enough to doe to defend himselfe, much lesse to make warres against others. All this he tolde him, for the succour of those shippes which shoulde remaine in the Indias.

These wordes were spoken afore many of his Nayres, of the which the King was verye gladde that they heard them. And for that we had knowledge that in respect of the friendship that they had with the Mores, they were verye sorry that we had the Factory graunted in Cochinchina. Therefore the Captaine Generall promised unto the King that from Cananor he woulde soorthwith sende him thether a flēte of shippes, from whence he was minded to departe.

Now

Now after that he had laden his ten shippes, and was a sea boord, thre leagues from Pandarane, he had knowledge of the nine and twentie great shippes of the Mores, that went to seeke him out. And as soone as he had sight of them, he consulted with his Captaines to fight with them, vpon whom with the winde that did begin to blowe, they did beare.

This being agrēed vpon, the Generall began to bearre toward the Enimies. Vincente Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres, for that theyr shippes were great saylers, went before them all, and these were the first that did give the onset vpon two of the chiefe shippes. Vincente Sodre, fought with the one alone, and Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres with the other. Their meeting was with such a valyant minde, that out of both the Enimies shippes there leapt many into the sea. The fight indured no longer, but vntill such time the Captaine generall with the other shippes dwelwe neere, who did alwayes shote off at them. In the meane while the rest of the Enimies did bearre all that they could towarde the shoare. The Captaine generall for feare of the losse of some of his shippes, would not followe, the rather for that they were all laden: Howbeit, our men leapt into theyr boates, and there fought with those that were swimming in the water, and slew them all: the which were neere to the number of thre hundred persons.

After this the Captaine Generall commauded to discharge theyr shippes, which were taken, in the which was founde stoe of rich Merchaundize: and amongst the same these peeces following: Sixe great Tynages of fine Earth, which they doe call Porcelanas, and the same is verye costlye, as by experiance thereof we do see in Portingale: foure great Guyndes of siluer, with certaine perfuming Pannes of siluer: also they there founde, certayne Basons of siluer and gylte, in the which they doe use to spit. But that which exceeded the rest, was an Idoll of Gold, which weighed thirtie yownde waight, with a

A battaile
by sea be-
tween our
ships, and
the kings
of Calicut

A rich
price take
from the
enimie.

Ce. if.

mon

monstrous face and for his eyes he had two verye fine E-
merauldes : a vestement of beaten golde, wrought and set
with fine stonye, the which vestement belonged vnto this Id-
dol, with a Carbuncle or Rubie in his brest as bigge as a
Crosado, which gaue as great a lyght as it had bene a fire.
The shippes being set a fire, the Captaine general departed to-
ward Cananor, wher he was with the King, who gaue him
a house for the Factorie, the possession whereof was taken
by Goncallo Gill Barbosa, who was appointed for Factor,
and by Sebastian Aluares, and Diego Godino, Notaries,
and by the Interpretour, called Edwarte Barbosa, and sundry
others, in all to the number of twentie, of all whom the
King tooke charge vpon him, with all that was in the Fac-
toarie : and bound himselfe to lade from thenceforth all the
King of Portingales shippes of Spices, that they shold at a
ny time haue need of, and this at a certaine price which was
immediately named. The Captaine generall did enter into
the like bonds in the name of the King of Portingale, to de-
fend him from all those that shoulde make him warres for
this cause. Also the King of Cananor did the lyke, and to
remane the King of Cochings friend, and not to helpe nor
aide any that shoulde come against him, vpon paine that we
shoulde make him warres : and of all this, there were suffi-
cient, great and lawfull writings made on all parts. After
this, the Captain generall sent Vincente Sodre to go along
the Coast, and to keepe the same vntill Februarie. And if
in the meane while there were any newes or knowledge of
any lykelihood of warres, betwene the King of Cochincing &
the King of Calycut, that then he shoulde winter there in
Cochincing : but if not, that then he shoulde go to the straights
of the red Sea, to take such shippes of Mecca, as doe passe to
the Indias.

The order
that was
gauen to
Vincente
Sodre, at
the depa-
ture of
the Cap-
taine ge-
nerall fro
Cananor.
This being dispatched, and those thre shippes laden
with that they shoulde haue, they departed toward Portin-
gale with thirtene shippes, the twentith daye of Decem-
ber, in the yeare of our Lord 1503, and so arrived with all
their shippes at Monsanbique.

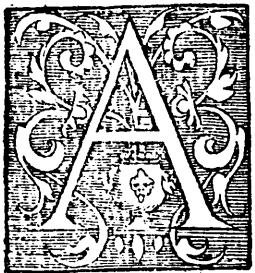
And

And for that the ship that Steuen de la Gama went in had
a great leake, he commaunded the same to be vnladen and
brought a ground, and after that she was newlye rigged,
they departed. And within seauen dayes after, there fell a
great leake in the ship y Lewis Cotine was in, for that it
was in such a place that they could not come by it, they
were therefore driven with all the Fleete to retourne to
Monsanbique, to new rigge the same. Now the winde was
scant, they were faine to remaine in a certeine creeke, vntill
she was finished, and afterwarde they retourned to their
voyage, and at the Cape of the Correntes they were
so overtaken with stormes which came sodeinly, and with
such a force vpon them, and that against them, that they
were forced to stay there with all the Fleete. The ship that
Steuen de la Gama went in did beare vp onely with her
foore saile, and his sprit saile all to toerne, by reason wher-
of he lost the companie of the whole Fleete, and was no
more seene. And within syre dayes after that the Captaine
Generall arriued at Lishborne, shere came in also with her
Mast broken. This storme being past from this Cape of
the Currents, the Captaine Generall followed his course
toward Lishborne, where he arriued the first day of Sep-
tember. All the noble men of the Court went as farre as
Cascaes to receive and accompanie him till he came to the
king. He had going before hym his Page, which carried a
Bason of siluer, within the same was layde all the tribute
which the king of Quiloa had paide. Being come where
the king was, his grace honourably received him, according
as he did deserue, who had done him so great seruice, as it
was to discouer the Indias, and to leaue settled Factoryes
in Cochincing, and in Cananor, which things must needs re-
ound vnto the king to most certeine gaine and profit, be-
sides the great fame and honour which he got therby, in be-
ing the first king that had sent to discouer the East partes,
whereof he might make conquest, if so be that it pleased
him. So in satisfaction the king made him Admerall of the
Indias, and also gaue him the title of Lord of Vy de gue-
ro,

They
were dis-
persed by
a tempest

to, which was his owne.

Of the newes that were gauen out in Coching, how the king of Calycut put himselfe in a readinesse for the warres, and how Vincente Sodre wold not succour him, but went to the cape of Quardafum, Chap. 50.



Both commons & noble men repine against their king and our men.

So soone as the king had knowledge that y Captaine general was departed toward Portingale, he immediatly determined to put his warres in execution, which he had signified to y king of Coching before. And so he marched toward the village of Panane, where he beganne to ioyne his power, which was immediatly knowne vnto all those of Coching, for that it was not far of. Wherefore the dwellers there were wonderfullly afraid, saing, that they had cause so to be, for that the king of Coching did all things contrarie to iustice and equitie. And since he did the same vnto those that are of his sect, and all most naturally borne with him, why shold he not doe the like vnto the christians which are our enemies? And soz that God doth well perceiue the iust quarrell the king of Calycut hath to make him warres, that he will therefore aide and succour him therein, vpon the charges of those that are innocents thereof. This they did not onelye tell our men, but also in every place they railed at them, and endeavoured to procure as much hurt as they coulde against them.

Some of them also that were in credite with the king, and ought vs no great god will, did openlye saye, that if so bee that the king of Calycut did come with a greater power then they hadde, they would immediatlye deli-

uer

of the East India.

uer our men vnto him, since the warres were begunne in respect of vs and for our sakes, they did put in hazarde the losse of their kingdome. The king meruailing much of the boldnesse of his subiects, aunswere them with louning wordes, saing that they had offended him verie soze with theyz vaine speach, assuring them, that if so bee that the king of Calycut woulde come and sleke him out, yet he woulde notwithstanding defende himselfe, onely for that he well knoweth, that God will fauour him, for his iust dealing in defending those christians, as he had taken vpon him to doe. But for all this his subiects coulde not be well pacified, whereof some were desirous to set vpon our men, but yet they durst not, for that the king had allowed them a gard to attend vpon them, and also appointed a strong place for their lodging. Upon this, there came newes that Vincente Sodre was come to Coching, who had left greate hurt done along the coast of Calicut, both by water and by land.

Of whose comming all our men were very glad, for that they were before in great daunger. But the Factor perceiuing that they came not a land, sent the Captaine generall word by Laurencio Moreno, the certeintie they heard of the warres, which the king of Calycut was minded to make vpon the king of Coching, and where he was at that present in a readinesse for the same. Requesting him on his behalfe, and requiring him in the name of the king of Portingale, that he woulde forthwith disimbarke himselfe, for that with his beeing in Coching they were certain they shold remaine conquerours, yelding sufficient reason for the same, & other wise that they were in greate daunger. The Generall aunswere, that he was appointed for Captaine Generall of the Sea, and not of the lande, and did therefore remaine in the Indias, onely to keepe the seas.

Neuerthelesse if so bee that the king of Calycut had prepared his warres against the king of Coching, by sea, he woulde haue defended him, but since it was by lande,

The Captain gene
rall excu
seth him
selfe for
dealing on
the lande.

he

The Conquest

This general captain had other matters of more profit in hand.

he had nothing to doe withall, but to suffer the king to defend himselfe, for that he would depart to discouer the redde Sea. The Factor upon this determinate answere, did once moze send vnto him, requiring him on Gods behalfe, and the king of Portingales that he would not leaue them so, for that the king of Cochings power was but small to defend himselfe withall, in these warres against the king of Calicut, who had begin the same onely and for none other cause, but to destroy our Factorie. And therfore he as Capitaine Generall of the king of Portingale, was bound for to defend him, and that this was the principall cause why he remained in the Indias. But for all this the General would not farrie, and so he departed with the rest of his Fleet toward the Cape de Quardafum, where he did well knowe that he shoulde take sundrye rich prises. This was that which he did better remember, then to stay and defend the king of Coching or the king of Portingales Factorie.

How the king of Calicut signified vnto his noble men, & all such as did assist him, the causes why he made this warre against the king of Coching. And how the Prince Nabeadarni was hee, that onely spake against the same. chap.50.



After that the king of Calicut was come to Panane, therfore also came presentlie sundry noble men his subiects and others his friends whome he had sent for to aide and succour him in this enterprise. Others there were that came before they were sent for: For as soone they heard that the warres were begun, and that for our sakes that remained in Coching (of the which they were all glad) hoping therby to hunt vs out of the Indias, & therfore they came with the better god wil to seeke the destruction of the king of Coching. There were also of his owne subiects that arose against him, and some

of the East India.

of his nobilitye, as the Caimall of Chirapipill, and he of Cambalane, and also he of the greate Land which is ouer against Cochung, who carried with them all the power that they were able to make. And beeing come into the presence of the king of Calycut, he spake vnto them all.

If that god workes doe engender friendshipp, amongst men, then I, and you for my sake, and generally all the Malabars ought to beare the same greatly vnto the Mores, for that it is well knowne, that it is sene hundred yeare since they came into the Province of Malabar, and in all this time, yea, to this daie, there was never anie that euer received at theyr handes anye hurt or losse. But having no sooner received straungers newly come into anye of our Countries, immediatlye we receive losse by them, wheresoever they doe beginne to settle theyr trade. But the Mores doe trade with the people with all friendship, and loue, as ought to doe one naturall neighbour with another, by whose meanes the Countrey hath bene alwayes well prouided of much victuals and merchandise, which hath bene a cause to enrich our Townes, and that our rents are greatly increased; in especiall within this our Citie. For whilste the Mores are heere resident, they haue made the same the greatest mart Towne that is in all the Indias.

For this cause I am bounde in conscience, and haue greate reason to fauour them; and to mislyke of the christians whiche to my greate hinderance, yea, and against my god will, settle in my lande, moze for to take the same, and to destroye mee, then to bring me anye profit, or gaines as the Mores doe, hauing gauen of themselves greate shewes and signes therof within these few daies, that they were heere: as in taking of my Capitaine Generall, and my Embassadour prisoners, in making of new lawes in my Citie, to lade their shippes first, and before the Mores shuld lade. And vpon this they tooke an occasion to staye a certeine Shipppe of the Mores, which was the cause

cause, that the Mores did as you vse heare, and as I maye judge by the sequeale thereof, was so ordeined of God for theyz pride, of the which hee was in no fault. Yet this notwithstanding, they burnt ten of my shippes which lay with in my harbour.

After all this, they with theyz Ordinance destroyed my Citye, so that I was driven to runne awaye out of my palacie. Not contented with this, they burnt me other two shippes, which they woulde not haue done if so be that they had come to settle a trade. But first of all since they found themselues agreed, they shoulde haue come and made theyz complaint to me of the Mores, and tarryed till I had punished them, and not to doe as they haue done, by which it was apparant, that they are theues and no Merchants, as they name themselues to be, that vnder this coulour, they might conquerre the whole Countrie. Whiche things the king of Coching would never understand nor give credit vnto, althoough I sent him worde. And being as he is, my subiect, & wel understanding what they had done vnto mee, yet he would not but receive them, & giue them lading for their shippes, and now he hath giuen them a factozie, I sending him worde and praieng him many times that he wold not consent thereto. For this cause therfore I haue sent for you, that you shoulde ioyne your selues. And also to request you to tell me your opinions, whether I haue reason to reuenge my selfe or no?

Heere this enterprise was vwell liked of by his noble men & others. This determination to them all seemed verie god, and they praised his purposed intent, but principally the Lord of Kepelyn, so somuch as hee was a greate enimie to the king of Coching, for that he had usurped an Iland of his called Arraul: also of the selfe same opinion were other principall Mores. But against this his pretended iourney spake the kings brother called Nambeadarin, whiche was the onely heire to the kingdome after the death of his brother: who immediatlye in the presence of them all sayde:

GY E kindred that is betwene the and mee, besyde sundrie other thinges, may certifie thee that I do desire more thine honour and profit, then anye that bee here present, and therefore my councell ought to be of a more efficacie then anye others. For as they are not so greatlye bound to giue thee the same as I am, so as it appeareth they doe fede thy humour, and councell thee according to thy will, since thou art desirous to accept it, and not according to god reason, which thou hast to leaue it. But if so bee that they without flatterye, and thou without passion, wouldest judge or weigh the cause of these Christians, shou shouldest finde, that vnto this present time they haue giuen thee no cause, but that they shoulde be well received into thy Countrie, and so into all the Province of Malabar, and not to hunt them forth lyke theues, which they cannot bee called, although they were present. And forasmuch as from all the places of the worlde, men doe resorte hether, and assemble them selues to buye those Merchaundise which they haue not in theyz Countryes, and bring those hether which we haue not here.

In the same sorte come these Christians, and as the cuome is of Merchauntes, they brought the in their kings behalfe, the richest present that thou diddest yet euer receive. And besides theyz merchandise they brought much Golde and siluer made in coine, which they doe not vse to bring which come to make warres. And if so bee they hadde come in anye such sorte, they woulde not haue dis simuled the running awaie that the Pleadges offered vnto them whome thou doest call Embassadours, that were kepte in Prison, for that theyz Captaine was a Lande.

But they reconciling themselues unto the, went and toke the shippes at thy request in the which was the greate Elephant, and afterward did present theerwith, and with all that the same ship carried: besides, those that are theues,

„ doe not vse so to doe, nor yet paye so well, nor vse so much
 „ truch as they did, for all the time that they were in Caly-
 „ cut, there was none that did complaine of them, but onely
 „ the Mores, which they did, for that they are their enimies,
 „ and being moued with envy to see them pertakers of their
 „ profit, did accuse them that they hadde taken greate store
 „ of Pepper from the owners against theyr wills, they
 „ themselves being those that vse the same, and for that the
 „ Christians shoulde not benefite themselves by lading of
 „ theyr shippes. And for that this was so apparaunt, thou-
 „ gauest them license to take theyr freight, by the which li-
 „ cense, the Captaine sent to the shippes of the Mores, which
 „ was laden, and they being in all the whole fault, did yet
 „ notwithstanding rise against them. These men then haue
 „ done as it is well knowone to the world, and yet for all this
 „ as quiet men ought to doe, they tarryed all one daye to see
 „ whether thou woldest excuse thy selfe. But they seeing that
 „ there came none from thē, they did then put in execution
 The exec-
 cution of
 þ pledges
 defended
 by the
 kings bro-
 ther
 the reuenge, not traiterously as the Mores doe, which went
 not to defend the shippes, although now they speake with a
 stout stomacke, and councell thē to make these warres a-
 gainst the king of Coching, for that he did receive them in-
 to his Citie, where no iust cause is at all. For his recei-
 uing of them, it is not to be iudged that it is to hinder thē:
 „ but he received them as he woulde anye other merchant
 „ that woulde haue come to his harbour. After the selfe same
 „ sorte did the king of Cananor, and the king of Coulan deale
 „ with them, who woulde not haue admitted them if they had
 „ knowne them to bee theuies. If thou bee minded to banish
 „ them out of the Indias, and for this cause art determined to
 „ make warre against the king of Coching: it is requisite
 „ also thou make warre against the king of Cananor, for
 „ from thence they may doe that whiche thou fearest they wil
 „ from Coching. But I will not let to tell thē, that thou do-
 „ est aduenture thy selfe against him. For that as thou thin-
 „kest he is of lesse power then the king of Cananor.

These

These words were spoken by Nambeadarin, with such a stomacke and so lyberally to the King, that they were by him well taken: In one respect, for that he was a very valyaunt Gentleman, and in another, for that he was with him in great credit and authoritie. And for this cause they hadde him in great reputation: Insomuch, that if the Mores and Taymayles had not shewed themselves verye stout against him, the King woulde not haue gone forward with his enterpise to make wars against the King of Coching. Howbeit, they stod vpon their reputation so much, that they thought it would be a great imbasing to their credite, in especially hauing assembled so great a power as the King had done, and not to goe forward, or at the least to do some what afore they did retourne. By meanes whereof, it was possible, that the King of Coching hearing of theyr comming, would now doe that for feare, which hee would not otherwise doe before, beeing prayed. After all this, the King of Calycut woulde needes know of his Witches, what daye was good to march forward in with his Armie, who appointed him a fortunate one, and promised him the victory against the King of Coching, and that as yet there would come vnto him more men. With this certainetie, whiche the Witches had comforted the King withall, which he much trusted vpon, he departed toward the Countrey of Repelyn, which is fourre leagues from Coching.

¶ Of the great feare that our men were in, least the King of Coching would haue deliuered them to the King of Calycut. Cap. 52.



If all this, whatsoeuer hadde past, was the King of Coching aduertised, by sundry espyes whiche he had in the Campe of þ king of Calycut: and therefore he stode some what in feare of him, for that he hadde not sufficient men to defend himselfe, forasmuch as all those that he hoped had fauoured him, were tourned a-

ff. iij.

gainst

The
 Mores o-
 verthrew
 the credit
 of þ kings
 brothers
 Oration.

The very
sight of
our men
abhored
in Co-
ching

gaines him: yea, even those that were his owne subiectes, whome if he hadde on his side, he had bene sure to haue giuen the King of Calycut the ouerthow. Therefore, for that he had but few men, he was greatly afeard thereof, and the rather, for that of those there, the most part serued him against their will, in especially they that were dwellers in Coching, which did abhore y^e very sight of our men, where vpon they openly spake it, that it were god that the King of Coching shoulde deliuer our men to the King of Calycut, or els that he put them out of Coching, and so he might ac- quite himselfe of these warres. Moreover, there were many of the inhabitants of Coching, that ranne their wavyes, and left their houses, and all for feare of this warre. Our men also on the other parte were greatly afearde to see this tumult, which gaue them occasion to wavye the daunger that they wer in, for all that the King did warrant them. Therefore the Factor fearing the successe thereof, procured ly- cense of the King to goe to Cananor, hoping that there, they shoulde be very quiet, vntill such time the flete shoulde come from Portingale, thinking that the King by this meanes, shoulde breaue vp those warres, that were pretended against him, and also his subiectes be the better contented therewith.

The au-
nswere
vwhich the
king of
Coching
made to
the factor

But at those words the King seemed to be in heauines, & tolde the Factor, that now it appeared very well, that he had but small confidence in him, that he would aske him license to depart, and therfore he tolde him he would giue him none; but rather requested him earnestly not to haue any such mi- strust, for he there gaue him his worde, and it stode him so much vpon his credite, in preseruing them all alyue, that he would rather loose his Kingdome and lyfe withall, then de- lyuer them to the King of Calycut, or to other that shoulde doe them any harme. And if so be that his euill Fortune were so great that he shoulde loose Coching, yet there would not lacke a place of sufficient strengthe to sende them vnto, vntill the coming of the next flete from Portingale to the Indias.

And

And although layd he, the King of Calycut shoulde come with a great power, yet for all that he is not assured of the victory: for it is seene many times that few with valyant hearts, doe giue the ouerthow unto great numbers with- feyve ha-
out strength: much more hauing as I haue, Justice & equi- uing the
right on
their side,
preuayle
most
times a-
gainst nu-
bers that
come in
an euill
cause.
place them in anye such daungerous place, for that it stode vpon his credite so much to keepe them alyue. And for that they shoulde remaine as witnesles, how much he did trauell to saue their lyues, therfore from thenceforth he committed the keeping of them vnto certayn Nayres, such as he had a confidence in.

And that this mutenie might cease, and they from thence forth not haue anye occasion to murmure against our men, he commaunded to be called afore him all his Noble men, such as were with him, and also certaine of the principall Nayres, which were the occasion of all this trouble, & spake vnto them after this manner.

I cannot but be verye heauie, to see so lyttle trush re-
The king
of Co-
chings O-
ration to
his noble
men.

Imayne in you: For I meruayle nothing at all at the rusticall sorte of men, whome oftentimes their pouertie enforceth to vse all kinde of villanye. But of you, I doz greatlye meruayle that are Nayres, that haue bene alwaies true in your dealyngs, that you now would haue me break my worde and promise, that I haue alreadye giuen to the Captayne Generall, concerning these Christians, which was to keepe his men to the vittermost of my power, and to looke that no man shoulde doe them anye harme or vylence, but always for to haue as god a regarde.

„ vnto them as vnto mine owne naturall subiects. And there-
„ fore he left them in this my Citie, which was done also by
„ your collents. And since you doe perceiue, that the King of
„ Calycut hath a fewe more men then I, ye would perswade
„ me to doe contrary to my promise: so that if I were of so
„ ill a nature as you would haue me to be, then ought you of
„ all other to abhorre me, and crye out vpon me. Be ye here-
„ in your owne Judges, If you remained with anye other
„ King vpon his word, would you allow that as well done in
„ him, which you would haue me doe, by these Christians?
„ In especiall, counting him as we account of this man, for
„ our enemy, haing none occasion so to be, as the King of Ca-
„ licut: and I your King, haing no occasion to deliver you,
„ as I haue none to delyuer these Christians? Which, since
„ it is so, what is the councell that ye minde to give me her-
„ in, that may not be reprehended in another? If it be so, that
you are afraide of the King of Calycut, then know this, that
it were better to dye an honourable death then to liue with
dishonour, then which there cannot happen greater to mee,
then to breake my word, nor yet more infamie vnto you,
then to be subiects to a rusticall and a falle King, in especiall
against these Christians, who haue brought me so great pro-
fit as they haue done. And as for the King of Calycut, hee
well knoweth that if he wold haue consented that the Factorie
migh haue bene setteled in his Citie, he migh haue
kept them in his Countrey. But now because they are
gone he mourthe these warres, the rather, for that hee well
knoweth my power is but small, and therfore mindeth to
revenge on me the losse he hath receiued. If his meaning be
none other, then to hunt these Christians out of the Indias,
and to fight with him, whosoever receiueth them into his
Countrey, why then doth he not beginne his warres first
with the King of Cananor? But that is not the occasion
onely, but the ennie which he hath to see me benefited, and
so that with his pride he supposeth, that I am not able to
resist him. All this doe I very well understand, and moxo-
tier I doe receive comfort in preseruing of these Christians,
hoping

hoping in God, that he therefore will gine me the victory as
gainst him. And as touching you that are my friends, I
pray you therefore to stand to me.

Now all that were present hereby, seeing this his deter-
mination, meruailed greatly at his constancie, and craved
pardon at his hands for the feare they found themselues to
be in before, promising all of them to lyue and dye in his
service: for the whiche he gaue them heartie thankes. Im-
mediately after this, he commaunded the Factor to be cal-
led with the rest of our men, vnto whom he tolde all what
he had done, and in their presence named for Captaine gene-
rall, the Prince Naramuhin his brother, and next inheritor
to the Crowne, & commaunded every man to obey him, in kings bro-
as ample manner, as his owne person. His charge was set ther made
downe, that he should march forward with five thousande
five hundred Nayres, & entrench himselfe hard by the Foord,
by which waye he knew so most certaine, that the King of
Calycut was determined to enter into y Island of Coching:
whereas at an Ebbe, the water commeth vp but to the
knees.

The
general of
the field,
and armes

¶ How the Prince of Calycut made offer sundrye
times to enter into the Iland of Coching, by this
Foord, and how he was resisted by the Prince of
Coching, Chap. 53.



¶ The King of Calycut haing notice,
that Naramuhin had pitched his royall Ar-
me hard by this Foord, to resist thereby his
entraunte into Coching, he was somewhat
feared therewith: in especiall so that hee
knew the foresaid Prince, to be one of the
valiantest Gentlemen, that was accompted off in all that
Principall of Malabar, & the most fortunate in wars. Some-
what therfore for this feare, more then for anye god will
that he ought to the King of Coching, to vse any kinde of
courtesie towards him, he sent him this letter.

The king
of Caly-
cut's letter
to v king
of Co-
ching

Hauue traigled as much as I could to excuse this war
with thee, if so be that then woldest temper thy pride, &
dye h which I haue requested the, being as it is, so wyl, ne-
cessary and profitable vnto vs all. And for that this our fal-
ling out might goe no further, I give thes to vnderstande,
that I am come to Repelyn with a great power for to en-
fer thy Country, & there to take those Christians which are
with thee, withall their Merchandize: yet notwithstanding,
I will first aduertise the, that my desire is, that thou doe
sende them vnto me, which if thou wylt doe, then will I for-
get the enuie and hatred I haue conceiued against thee for
that which is past, whereas otherwise, I haue promised to
take thy Country from thee, & put all those that are dwel-
lers there, to the sword.

Although now the King of Coching had very great lack
of men, and did well perceiue that it might come so to passe,
as the King of Calicut had written vnto him. Neuerthe-
lesse, he never meant to moue his determination, but did
aunt were after this manner.

The aun-
svere
which the
king of
Coching
made to
the fore-
said letter

If thou hadst deniaunded of me after a ciuill order, & with
louing wordes, that which thou doest comand with so
great a pride, I wold not haue iudged thes of lesse valour,
then that thou thinkest I might take thes vpon: For
where there is wisedome or strength, there is no discrusie
shewed by meanes of ill bringynge vp. These be things that
God is not pleased withall: neither yet haue I offendred
him, that I shold consent so much to the bille, to think that
the victory shold not be mine and these valyant men that
are with me. Thou shalt be welcome with all thy pride,
and I verely believe, that with these few whiche I haue, ouer
and beside my iust quarrell, shall suffice to defend me from
thee, and other mine enimies. Thou shalt neuer finde me
so weake, that I will doo amiss thing with such stadic
as thou deuaundest. And if so be, that thou haue cred to ac-
cuse me thy selfe to such deceipts, so it is, I did never use

the same, neither yet will I accusome my selfe so dee.,
Touching the Christians, or any part of their gods, make ,,,
thou no reckoning, for that I doe minde to defende the ,,
same. Therefore to bee short, sende me no more messe ,,
gers.

With this auns were was the King of Calicut so of-
fended, that he sware he woulde destroye all, and revenge
himselfe vpon the King of Coching. And therefore sayng
with he departed from Repelyn the last daye of March,
and entered into the Lande of the King of Coching, in the
which he did no hurt, for that the Lordes of that soyle were
all in his fauour. And on the seconde daye of Apill, ha-
ving come neare vnto this Forde where Naramuhin was
intrenched, some of the King of Calicuts Captaines had
great hope through the multitude of theyr men whiche they
had with them, to giue the onset, with determination to
passe the Forde: but it was so manfullye defended, that
they retired with the losse of many.

The Cali
cut's
captaines
had
passe
over the
Forde.

Wherpon the King of Calicut tooke this for an ill be-
ginnynge: but for all that, after that he had pitched his
Campe, he sent the next daye the Lordes of Repelyn with
as manye more men as there was the daye before, and lym-
dye Baraos by water, supposing that then he woulde passe
over this Forde. But it chaunced farre otherwise, and
they mist at that time of theyr purpose, for that Naramuhin
as yet did valyauntlye defende the same with a Scott
courage.

At this present, were with him Laurenso Moreno,
with other moxe of our men, whiche shewed themselves
lyke valyaunt Gentlemen, as before time they hadde done
in divers other Battayles, which the aforesayde Prince
Naramuhin hadde with his Enemies, in the which he had
alwayes the victory, with the losse of many of their men.
Wherupon the King of Calicut perceiued his losse, and bee-
ing now, as hee euer was, inconstant and fearefull, he
euer repented himselfe, that euer hee did beginne these
warres.

Inconstan-
cie in the
King of
Calicut
noted.

A stout
stomacke
of a prince

For he thought that immediately vpon his comming to this fford, he shoulde haue passed the same. Wherefore he sent againe another messenger to the King of Coching, that hee forthwith shoulde send vnto him those Christians: who answered, that since he would not delyuer them before time, when as he had occasion somewhat to feare his power, what shall he thinke he would doe now, when he hath the aduantage? But he aduertised him to looke well vnto himselfe, for that now he would not be contented onely with defending his Countrey, but hoped to glorie him y-ouerthow: which indeed had taken effect, if so be that his untrue subiects, had not forsaken him. With this aunswere the King of Calicut remained in some feare, and indeed without any hope of victory, if so be that it had not bene for his owne souldiers, which gaue him councell to send to ouerun certaine townes of Coching, which lay hard thereabouts, he would haue left the warres. Which had the soner bere finisched, if Naramuhin had not bene driven to send to succour those Townes, with some of his men. The king thought y by this meanes remaining there but with the fewer, his strength shoulde be thereby diminished.

But this politicke was prevented by Naramuhin, who had a meruailous forecast to foresee such innovations. And for all this he furnished all places, where it was requisite, in such sort, as though himselfe had bene there present. And notwithstanding all this, the King of Calicut lost manye of his men.

How Naramuhin Prince of Coching, was slaine by treason, which the King of Calicut practised: and also how the King of Coching received the ouerthowre, and was driven to go to Vaypin for succour, and caried with him all our men. Chap. 54.



THE king of Calicut seeing that his Capitaines could not passe through that forde to encounter with Naramuhin, he forthwith practised how he might passe the same by some politie. For the which intent he secretly vised conference with the paye maister of those Nayres which Naramuhin had in his campe, and agreed vpon this, that there should be no payement sent to the Campe, as before he was wont to send daily, but that they shoulde go to Coching to receiuie the same there. And for his reward that he shoulde consent thervnto, he sent him a great present. By this meanes therefore Naramuhin remaining alone and un furnished, his enimyees might passe the syd fford the better. This being agreed vpon, the paye maister according to his promise, sent woyde to the Capitaine, that all such Nayres as were in wages with the king of Coching, shoulde come and fetch their wages, so that hee could not send it them as before time. The Nayres having license of Naramuhin, he charged them to retorne afore day, who promised him so to doe, howbeit they coulde not come, so that their payement was delayed, till it was broad day: and thus whildest they were in Coching, the king of Calicut entered the fford with his whole power both by lande and by sea, and with much ordinance, and the whildest that Naramuhin remained thus alone, the king of calicuts power grew to be greater then ever it was before. Then gaue he the onset, at the which Naramuhin was driven to retire vnto certeine Palme trees, where ioyned vnto him all his men that he had left, he cast them into one squadron, which being as they were but few, did oftentimes break the aray of their enimies, with the which there were many slaine. But as Naramuhins power was but small, so they were compassed round about. And after that he had done manye notable acts, he was ouerthowne, both he and two cousins of his which ther also very valiant gentlemen, with sundry others. Thus was he and all his slaine which remained in throvne.

Treason
practised
against
the
prince Na
ramuhin

Prince Na
ramuhin
and his
poore
ouer-
thowne.

the field. The king of Calicut would not followe the chasse of those that ranne awaie, for that it was night, for so long the battaile indured. Ther were many of the enimies slaine also.

This newes beeing brought to the king of Cochinchina, hee was therewith a while as it were beside himselfe, and almost of every man taken for dead, in especiall of our men that were present. Those Navys that were our mens keepers made no account of them, for that they had inough to doe to succour the king. When this overthow was spread abroade, partly for the ill will which they ought our men, they sayde that they were the cause of Naramuhins death and the others, & that the king was not able to deliuer them from death. With this, the king returned to himselfe, and began to weepe, and spake sundry wordes, which our men did not understand, for that his remembrance was as it were taken from him, so that being hard by him, hee sawe vs not, but at length he asked for vs, with that our men drew neare toward him, who made vs also to weepe, onely to see him in that agonie. And being fully come unto himselfe, he willed them in anye case not to feare, neither yet to doubt that this mischance should haue any such power, as to make him chaunge from that which he hadde alwayes promised. For which wordes they would haue kisst his hands, but he would not consent thereto, and hearing the sturre that his men made against ours, he sayd unto them.

Comfortable wordes
of a prince

The kings
Oration
made vnto his sub
iects a
bout the
losse of
his king
dome.

Now that Fortune doth shew her selfe froward against me, I had thought that as true friends and loving subiects ye wold haue trauelled to giue me herein some comfort. But ye are desirous to followe and serue the king of Calicut, which as often as I doe remember, it doubleth my paine for the death of the Prince my brother, and my Cousins, and since you also are against the Christians, whome I haue so oftentimes incommended unto you, you doe well knowe, that it will be much more griefe unto

Unto me, that they at your handes shoulde receive anye hurt (then I haue alreadie received for the death of my kinshmen, since they lyke true subiectes dyed in my defensse) and you are desirous to persecute those whome I haue received vnder my protection, and such as remaine with me for my comfort. It were a harde matter for me to perswade my selfe that this overthow haappened vnto me, for doing vnto these men as I ought to doe. Doe you not iudge so, for I will not beleue that they were the cause, neither yet for that I doe fauour them, therefore God doth fauour the king of Calicut against me. It is Ouer-thow vs in
very glad that there hath bene this occasion gauen, that I of God
might receive condigne punishment, and that the King of Calicut might bee the onelys executores of his iustice. And that also for all other offences that I haue doctie, I might be punished by him in seeking my destruction, the rather for that I doe keape my promise with these Christians, in especiall beeing as we bee so much bounde vnto them. Therefore weare well this cause, and let it not sinke into your mindes, that for vsinge clemencie to these Christians, and for defending them I receive this punishment, neither yet that the King of Calicut hath power to ouerthrow my power which I carrie make, and destroye me altogether, although that nowe hee drineth me out of Cochinchina.

The Fleete of the Christians will not farrye long, and then the Generall will resore vs into againe my Kingdome. In the meane space lette vs goe to the Ilande of Maypin, which is strong, and for that the Winter is at hande, I trust in God we shall escape the King of Calicut. And since my losse is farre more then yours, I comforst my selfe with this, requesting you to doe the lyke, & not to be avarocacion to renewe my troubles with this your murine.

They seeing the greate constaunce of theys King, were

The Conquest

The inhab-
bitants of
Coching
fayre for
the king
of Calicut
meruailed much thereat, and immediatlye did quiet them-
selues and promised him that they wold do that which he
had commaunded, and so they did. The constancie of þ king
was so great, that whereas once moze the king of Calycut
sent him word, that it so be that he wold deliuer our men
vnto him, he wold presently leaue the warres, yet he wold
not consent thereto, but sent him word againe, that since
that he had gotten the victorie more by treason, then by va-
liantrisse, for if so be that valure had bene bled, his brother
and cousins had not died, but they were betrayed by those
that faine would kill hint also. He did not passe for Coching
it selfe, but hoped that those Christians which he looked for
every day, wold restore him vnto it again, & likewise reneg^e
his quarrell. This aunswere being come to the king of Ca-
lycut, he commaunded to destroye the whole countrie with
fire and sword, which commaundement being once known,
the feare was so great amongst the inhabitants of Coching
that the most part of them ranne away, & with them went
two Milaneisis, which were Lapidaries, that remained with
the factor, which vpon the king of Portingales commaun-
dement were brought thether by Vasco de la Gama: the
one of these was called Ioan Mary^a, and the other Pedro
Antonio. Those did discouer vnto the king of Calycut the
feare that the dwellers of Coching were in of him, & how
that dayly they came awaie. They also did offer the king
to make him ordinance, and afterward they made him some-
as it shall appeare to the sequeale of the historie. The king
of Calycut mad^e verie much of this Milaneisis, & gaue them
greate rewards, to the ende therby he might winne them to
make him moze ordinance: and having certaine knowledge,
how few people were left in Coching, & what feare those
that remained were in, and how few men the king had to
defend himselfe, he put his men in a readinesse to take the
same. The king of Coching carrieng somme of our men in
his companie, went to meet with the king of Calycut, wheres
as that daie he behaued himselfe that it was wonder to see.
Neuerthelesse for all that the enimies being veray many,

and

of the East India.

and the king somewhat hurt, he was faine to retire, and so
that he durst not tarrie another battaile, he therefore re-
paired vnto another Iland called Vaypin, which is right
ouer against Coching, and is verie strong, to the which he
carried with him all our men, and all the factorie, so that
there was nothing lost. The Citie beeing thus disinhab-
ited, the king of Calycut commaunded the same to be sette
a fire. After this he sent his men to enter the Ilande of
Vaypin, which for that our men and others did defend it
with greate valour, and for that the winter was at hand,
and stormes of soule weather did beginne, the king of Ca-
lycut was driven of force to gue ouer, and to leaue the
warres, and so went to Grangalor, with determination to
returne vpon the same Ilande at the spring. For the which
cause he commaunded to be made manye trenches about
Coching, and left many of his men to keepe the same.

How Vincente Sodre and Blas Sodre were cast a-
vaiie at Curia Muria, and what the other Cap-
taines did afterward. chap.55.



Incente Sodre with his flote being de-
parted from the harbour of Coching, with-
out having any respect to succour the king,
or those that remained in the factorie, but
woulde needes goe tolwarde the kingdome
of Cambaia, to take such rich shippes of the
Mores as come from þ red sea to calycut. Upon the same
coast he tooke by þ helpe of other Captains ffe shippes, in the
which onely in ready money there was found two hundred
thousand Perdaos. The most part of the Mores wer slaine
in the battaile, and their shippes burnt. From thence he kept
his course toward certein Ilands called Curia Muria, whiche
stood a seaborde the Cape of Quardafum, where he thought
good to bring his shippes a ground, whiche were all open.

Vh.

De

The Conquest

1503
The fami-
liaritie &
securitie
of þ inhab-
bitants of
the Iland
of Curi-
auria.

He arriuied there the twentyeighth of Apyll in the yere of our Lord. 1503. And although all those Ilandes were greates lyе inhabited by the Mores, yet he wold venture a land, y rather for that the dwellers in that Iland were no men of war, so that with the onely feare they stode in of our men, they gaue them god interteinment, selling vnto them such viciualls as they had, and did conuerse in their compaines.

Vincente Sodre having brought a Caruell a grounde, therevpon the Mores tooke occasion to tell him, that in the moneth of Maye, there came alwayes such a torment of stoyme out of the North, that no shippes doe remaine there, but are driven a-lande. And therefore such as knowe the same, doe immediatly auoide the daunger, willing him likewise so to doe, and to remoue himselfe on the other side of the Ilande, which will be a defence for them, and when the stoyme is past they may returne without feare. But he not making account of their wordes, but rather iudging þ they meant to do him some displeasure, wold not go from thence, but answered them that their shippes had Ankers of wood, that they were driven so a shore, but his were of yron: and for all that the Mores could perswade him, he wold never be remoued. Yet Pedro Raphael, Hernan Rodrigues Bar-

The effect
which the
torment
retought
amongst
their shippes
in that
coast.

darsas, and Diego Pierres would not farrie, but on the last day of Apyll they went their waie, and as for Vincente Sodre and his brother, they remained. And when the torment came and began to blow, their shippes were driven on shore, for all their Ankers, and were toerne in peeces, in the which there were many men slaine. Amongst these ther di- ed the two brethren, and of the shippes was nothing saued, but onely the Captaines that remoued with the Carnells that was brought a ground. The losse of the two brothers was iudged to come by the handie woyke of God, for their sins, and for not fauouring the king of Coching, & for lea- ving the Factorie with the Factorie of the king of Portin- gale in so greate a daunger. And therefore those that were saued returned toward Coching to succour our men, if hap- pily they had any such need.

A

of the East India.

Amongst themselves they appointed for Captaine Ge- neral Pedro de Tayde, and so they made saile at the ente- ring of Maie. And for that the Winter of the Indias was come, they passed greate stormes, whereby they saue themselves sundry times in great danger. And for that they could not fall with Coching, therfore they were driven to winter in Ansadina. Thre or fourre dayes after their com- ming thether, there came thether also a shipp from Portin- gale, of the which was captaine a gentleman called Anto- nio del campo, who departed alone after Don Vasco dela Gama: his tarrieng was so long by reason þ his pilot died, by meanes whereof he was driven to keep the coast, so that with great trouble & danger he arriuied at Ansadina, wher he was driven to winter, where also they susteined great ne- cessitie for lacke of viciualls.

How Francisco de Alburquerque, and Alonso de Albur- querque departed to the Indias, for two captaines ge- neralis of two fleetes: and how they arriuied at Co- ching, & did after their comming restore the king of Coching to his kingdome. chap. 56.

1503.
The yeare of our Lord. 1503. the king of Portingale supposing that the Admiral had left settled the Factorie quietly in Coching & Cananor, & that he shold haue no such need as to send any great fleet. Therfore he determined to send but sixe shippes, imparced to the Indias.

þoage fro
Portugal
to the In-
dias.

þinfo two Captaines generallis. Of the first there he named for Captaine general a gentleman called Alonso de Albu- querque, which afterward was gouernour of þ Indias, as hereafter I shall declare in the third booke. These were his Captaines, one called Edwardo Pacheco, of whom I speake before, & Hernan Martines Mascarennas, who they said di- ed in the boage to Gordo. Of the other thre he appointed for Captaine general one Francisco de Alburquerque, cou- sin to þ other Alonso Alburquerque. These following wer his Captaines, Nicholas Coello, one þ was in þ discouery of the Indias, and pedro Vas de la Vega.

Vh.ii.

This

This Fleete departed fifteene daies after Alonso de Albuquerque, and so as well the one as the other, passed in their voyage great stormes, in the which was lost Pedro vas de Lauega, Francisco de Albuquerque, which departed last of all, came first, and before Alonso de Albuquerque, who brought with him Nicholas Coello to An sadina, who came therer in the month of August, where as yet he found Pedro de Taide with their Captaines, which were forced to winter ther. And having certeine knowledge of the warres that were published betwene the king of Calicut and the king of Coching, and all about our men, they went immediatly with all the Fleete, which was of sixe sailes to Cananor, for that he would enforne himselfe the better therer, and what had passed in Coching. At theyz arrivall in Cananor our men were verye glad of theyz comming. The king of Cananor himselfe rejoysed so much, that he went to visite the Captaine generall a sea boord, and told him all what perticularly had happened to the king of Coching, and where the king was.

As soone as he knew all this, he immediatly departed toward Coching, to the which place he came on Saterdaie at night, being the second day of September in the selfe same yeare. As soone as his comming was knowne to the king of Coching, ther was great rejoysing at the same, not onely of the king & our men, but of all the dwellers in Coching. There were sundrye that at his comming did so rejoice, that they plaied upon sundrie sortes of instruments, in token thereof. All those that were in theyz trenches by the king of Calycuts commaundement, viewing this great ioye and mirth, and perciuing wherfore it was, as soone as the night came, ranne their waie to Grangalor, for so the king of Calicut had commaunded them to doe, who also knewe of their comming by the waye of Cananor. Immediatly on Sundae in the morning, Francisco de Albuquerque came to an Ankor at the entering of the riuere of Coching. The king hearing of his arriuall, also sent to visite him by the factor.

The king of Coching rejoyceth at the comming of the Portingale &c.

On

On the Munday morning, Francisco de Albuquerque having left his shippes in god order, tooke his boates, being verie well armed, and went in the same unto Vaypin, & caried with him also two Caruellles to succour him, if there shoulde come any Par. o. from Calycut. As he went somewhat far off from the Carnells, camie after him Edwardte Pachete, who suspecting wherevpon he went, leapt into his boat with some of his men, which came after him, with such hast, hee made with his rowing, that he ouertooke him before he came to Vaypin, where the King of Coching was tarrieng for him along the water side, with as many men as went with him to the Iland. The pleasure was so great of theyz meeting, that as soone as the King of Coching had sight of our boates, he began to crye out sateng; Portingale, Portingale, and all those that were with him did the lyke. Our men also out of their boates did auns were after the selfe same manner, sateng: Coching, Coching, in despite of the King of calycut. As Francisco de Albuquerque did leape aland, the King of Coching was there ready, and tooke him in his armes, with the teares in his eyes, for exceeding ioye, saying: that his desire was to lyue no longer, but to see himselfe restored to Coching, that his subiectes might well perceiue, how much he was bound to passe so great troubles as hee had past, & all for to serue the King of Portingale. In whose name, the Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, with promise to reuenge his quarrell vpon his enimies. And for his part he gaue him ten thousand crownes to spend, during the time that he did not receive his rents, and this money was taken out of the Coffer he carried: which gift y king of Coching esteemed very much, for that he was very poore. Also his subiects judged this to be done right liberally as it was noted amongst them all: and from thenceforth they ^{Liberally} ^{thought} all to be well bestowed, that the King had done for ^{neith the} our men. Forthwith they carried the King to Coching, where he entered with great glōze, besides the rejoysing which his subiects made: and from thenceforth all our men, ^{the most} ^{barbarous} were amongst them well esteemed. Now it was not long ^{ly people} after

Ch. ii.

after

after that the newes how that the King was retourned to Coching, was brought to the King of Calycuts eares, and of the money that the Captaigne generall had giuen him: who seeing that there was likelyhood of wars, sent certain Caymals into his Countrey to defend the same, for that it ioyned unto the kingdome of Coching.

How Erancisco de Alburquerque began the warres against all those that were enimies to the king of Coching: and how the Caymall of the Ilande of Charanaypin was slaine. Chap. 57.



He King of Coching being put in his possession, Franciso de Albuerquerque tooke his leue of him: His entent was, that yet afore night he would partly reuenge himselfe vpon his enimies. And so he went to the Iland which is ouer against Coching. Now as the inhabitants thereof were somewhat forgetful, and thought not that as that daye he woulde retourne, so therefore did our men set vpon them before they were aware, and that vpon such a sodaine, that there were slaine of them a great number, and sundry of their Townes set a fire, and afterward they imbarke themselves without receiving any harme. And Franciso de Alburquerque going toward his Fleete, met with the King, and tolde him what he had done. The next day after, he returned to the same Iland, to destroy it altogether. He caried with him to y number of six hundred men, for so many he had, with those that he found in the other two shippes, and there went with him al his Captaines: The Caymall of that Ilande was farrieng for him along the water side, with two thousand Payres, wherof the most part were bow men, y others had speares, swords, and targets. They did all they coulde to keepe our men from landing, which they did without receiving anye hurt: and they being galled soze with our Crossebowes, were driven away.

Our

Our men followed them unto the other side of the Ilande with so stout a stomacke, that they had no other remedie but to take the water, leauing behinde them many of their compayne slaine and hurte. And our men not hauing with whom to fight, did set fire to all the Townes y were in the Ilande, so that the whole Iland was destroyed. The next day following, Erancisco de Alburquerque went to another Iland called Charanaipin, which was belonging to a Caymall, subiect to the king of Coching, who serued in al these warres with the King of Calycut. Concerning whom by certaine spycs that the King of Coching had in that Iland, he understood that he had made himselfe in a readines, to defend himselfe against the Captaigne generall, hauing reddie in armes thre thousand Payres of the which were seuen hundred bow men, and fortie with shot, besides all their houses well fortifyed with sundry trenches round about. Also he had by sea certeine paraos with Ordinance in the same, which the King of Calycut had giuen him. These wer afloat in a certaine harbor, where our men pretended to disimbarke themselves: which were there placed, that they shoulde resist our comming into that place, if that it were possible. About this place there was great store of boates, all furnished with Ordinance: but the enimies at the length, were driven to runne away, so that our men remained quietly in the harbour, where there stood in the water, yea, cuen vp to their girdles a great number, alwaies forfending our landing, throwing at vs both stones, and speares, and shooting off their arrowes in great plentie. But as soone as our Ordinaunce began to go off, then they desperately began to run away and gaine place. Howbeit, they being aland, did so ioynethe mselves together, & that in such sort y they gaue our men inough to do to disimbarke themselves for that the same was so valiantly by them resisted.

And, for all that our men could doe, they woulde never leue the ielde altogether, but by a lyttle and a lyttle they retired themselves to their Palme trees for to haue amongst them succour; and there wiat with the hinderance that

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that our men found by thosse trees, they defended themselves a small time. But afterward they ranne away, and that without order, so that our men followed them to the uttermost, in especiall the Constable of Franciso de Alburquerque, whom they call Pedro de late, who found himselfe alone with thre Nayres which came toward him. The one of these shot an arrow, which strake him in the breast; and for that he wore a breast plate, it did him no harme. And as the Nayre losed off his arrow, went off lykewise his shot, and strake the Nayre in the breast, so that he ouerthrew him, and afterward shot off another peice upon one of the others that remained, and killed him also. By the third he himselfe was hurte in the legge with a certaine weapon, which they doe call a Gomya, and with the same hee that hurt him would haue run away, but at length this Pedro late, killed him with his sword. Thus all the enimies being put to flight, Francisco de Alburquerque did then determine to march toward the Caymalls house, wher he had gathered together all his force, which was somewhat strong by reason of certaine trenches that he had made about the same. The Captaines were divided on both sides of the Iland, and each of them had their men with them, and in the middes of the Iland were placed thosse of Coching. In this order they went all burning and spoylyng such Townes as there were, and that without any resistance. Going in this order, there came certaine paraos from Calycut on that side of the Ilande which Edward Pacheco had the charge off, who for y they were many in number did leape a land, & encounter with y foresaid Edward Pacheco, & had given him the ouerthowe, (if Francisco de Alburquerque had not bene) who came therethen with those that he had in charge. And for that he found greater resistance in his Enimyes, then he looked for, and also being somewhat afarde least the Caymall would haue come thereto to succour the rest, which if he had so done, would haue put him in daunger: he therefore commanded Nicholas Coello to take with him Antonio del Campo and Pedro de Tayde, and to set vpon the

the Caymall house, who was there slaine in defending him. The Caymall slaine in defending his house valyantlye. At that time manye more of his compaige were both slaine and hurt, the house was lykewise spoyled and ransakt: of our men were hurt eightene, and one one ly slaine. In the meane while that this was a doing, Francisco de Alburquerque and Edwardo Pacheco, did put to flight those of the fleete of Calycut, many of them lieing along the water side sorely hurt and slaine, the others hadde enough to doe to imbarke themselves in their Paraos, in the which afterward they fled away. And in remembraunce of so great a victory as this was, Francisco de Alburquerque made certaine Knights; for that through their manhood the victory was obtained, for of thre thousand Nayres the Caymall had the least part escaped: and the Iland was all destroyed with fire and sword: and thus after this sorte was the King of Coching well reuenged ouer his enimies.

¶ Of the warres which Francisco de Alburquerque began to make against the Lord of Repelyn: and how by the King of Cochings license, a Castle was begun to be made called Manucl, Chap. 8.



¶ This being ended, then determined Francisco de Alburquerque to make wars against the Lord of Repelyn. And to begin the same, he departed with his other Captaines in the night toward a towne of his which is fourre leagues from Coching, wher he came the next day about eight of the clocke. To receive him, there were placed along y water side welny two thousand Nayres, of the which ther were five hundred bowmen. Our men being come within a Bale shot of the land, began to shote off in such sort, that the enimies were driven to giue place, and retire vnto their Palme trees, who being there, did partie the commynge of Francisco de Alburquerque.

querque. He being disembarked, with the rest of his company did graue the onset vpon the enemis, hauing Nicholas Coelio with his men in the forward, and after him marched the rest of the Captaines. At the first meeting were some of our men hurt with their arrowes, which they shot standing behinde their Palme trees, which to them were a very good bulwarke. Our men, seeing that as they were, and hauing thos trees for their defens, they could not make them to remoue, did then remoue themselves, and got on the one syde of them, shooting at them with their Crossebowes and Calivers with the which there were some slaine, and the rest fled away vnto their Townes, after whom our men followed so eagerly, that there was made a great slaughter, yea, farre greater then in the fieldes, for that there they were speriled & heere they tooke them altogether in their streets, wheres they might the better deale with them. The Towne being left alone, was immediately set a fire, the spoyle therof was giuen to thos Nayres of Coching which went with him: this rewarde Francisco de Alburquerque gaue vnto them, that they shoulde not thinke his comming into the Indias, was to robbe any man, but rather to reuenge such iniuries, as were shewed to the King of Coching.

The king of Coching thanketh him selfe suffiently reuenged of his enemis.

Now at his returne with this victory, he was ioyfullie received at the Kings handes, who requested him, not to trouble himselfe any farther, for that he iudged himselfe to be well reuenged. But he auanswered him, that although his highnes was satisfied, yet he was not satisfied, but requested him to giue him yet further license, for y he accounted it not any pains to fight in his seruice. Nowbeit he seeing y the king was contented, did then aske him license to buylde a Fort of timber, soasmuch as after that he were gone for Portingale, theremight remaine the Kinges, Factoys, suru and without feare, and all such as shoulde be left in the same. And this he declared to be the greatest seruice he coulde doe to the King his Master, to content thereto.

To this request the King auanswered, that his desyre was

was to serue the King of Portingale, with a greater master then that was, for that he must needs confesse, that by his meanes, he was restored vnto his Kingdome of Coching againe. And therefore he willed him to make the same, and what els he would: and if that neede were, he woulde commaund it so to bee made at his owne cost and charge.

This license being graunted, with the consent of the other Captaines, it was thought good the same to be made harde by the river of Coching, right ouer against the Cittie within the lande, for that there it was thought most surest, and from thence they might best resist the comming of the King of Calicut, flette. And for that they had neither lime, ston, sande, nor anye other necessaries therewnto, he was driven to make the Castle of timber, which the King commanded to be cut in great plentie, as well Palme trees, as of other timber. He sent also many of his men for the furtherance of the worke, saing, that he woulde not haue anye of our men to labour, for that as yet the troubles were sufficient that they had sustained in thys warres past. But for all that, the Captaine generall wold not let, but cause them to worke.

The Captaynes were deuided with theyr men, and beganne theyr worke the syre and twentith of September, in the selfe same yeare 1503. It was a great pleasure to see, with what diligence our men did labour: insomuch, that it was sayde there, hat there were no such men in the worlde againe, as ours were, soz that they serued soz all assayles.

¶ How the Fort of Coching was made an ende off: and how Francisco de Alburquerque and Alonso de Alburquerque retourned againe vpon the Lord of Repelyn. Chap. 59.



A description and
comenda-
tiō of the
Forte of
Coching.

Dure dayes after that the Forte was begun, came thether Alonso de Alburquerque, who by meanes of the great stormes & other soule weather, coulde not come sooner: notwithstanding he brought all his men with him in health, of the which, Francisco de Alburquerque was very glad, and im- mediately departed a peice of the Fort to be made by his men, and by this his comming, the Fort was made an ende off in a short time: which being as it was, made of timber, was as strong & faire as though it had bene made of lyme and stony. It was builded square, and within the walls from the one side to the other, it was square every way nine fathome. The walls were made of two orders of Palme trās and other strong timber, firmly set into the ground, and yoked together with hōpes of yron, and rayled with great nayles. Betwene the two orders of trās, they were rampered vp with much earth & sande, and at the ende of each of these Corners, wer builded bulwarks, which were re-lenisched with Ordinaunce. Also there was cast about the same a Cave or Ditch, which alwaies was full of water. The next daye after that this Forte was ended, there was made a solemne procession, in the which, went the Vicar of this Forte, who carried in his hande a Crucifix vnder a Canapie, which the Captaines caried ouer him, sounding before the same their Trumpes, with great ioye. With this solemnitie they entred into y Castle, which the Vicar did blesse. And by commandement of the Cap- taines, they caused the same to be called Manuel, in perpetuall memory of the King Don Manuel, vnto whom all those that made the same were subiects. The Forte being blessed, ther was a Massa sang, at y which ther was also a Sermon made by Frier Gaston, wherein was made mention how much they were bound to gine God great thankes, y would

permit

permit and condescend, that from so small a kingdome as that is of Portingale, and lieng on the cape of the Occident, there should goe Portugales to a land so farre of, as are the Indias, and to make there a fort amongst such a multitude of enimyees vnto the Catholike faith. And that by the clemencie of God, this should be but a beginning of many others. Also he made mention how greatly bound they wer to y king of Coching, for y god seruice y herin he had done to the king theyz souereigne: which wordes beeing brought to y king of Coching, he reioyced therat very much, & gaue y generals thanks for y same. After all this they returned & followed their warres against all such as were enimies to the king of Coching, and beset certeine townes which wer along the coast, fwe leagues from Coching, the rather for that they were aduertised by their spyes, that those Nayres that shold keepe the same, were but few in number. They carried with them for that place seauen hundred men, and departed two houres before day, notwithstanding it was nine of the clocke before they came thether, in the which townes there were more then sixe thousand soules, ouer & besides children, and such Naires as were there in garison, which were thre hundred, and those all bowmen, Alonso de Alburquerque, with other of the Captaines leapt a land hard by the first towne: & Francisco de Alburquerque w the others into the other towns, which were a Fawlon shot off. In the first they tooke the enimies vpon a sodeine, with the feare thereof they made them runne awaie, for that immedietly as soone as they landed, they set fire vnto them all.

Our men seeing the enimies to runne awaie, went after them, and in overtaking them there were many slaine of them, and after that they were wary of following them, they destroyed the countrie. In the meane while the larome was raised, and for that this Ilande was well inhabited, there was assembled together well nigh sixe thousand Nayres, which did set vpon our men at theyz imbarkeing, so that they were in greate daunger, in especiall Edwardo I-
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cheoco, which found not his boat wher he had left the same. They followed him so narrowly, that with their Bowes and arrowes there were of his men hurt to the number of eight, although they defended themselves valiantly, and killed many of their enimies. But for that the enimies were so many in number, they had beene worse handled, if so be those Captaines Generalls which were inbarked, had not disimbarked themselves and succoured them. The enimies being this, and having lost their hope to revenge their iniurys, moare then that they had done, did runne away, leauing behinde them the grounde well couered ouer with dead men, which fell with their bowes and hand guns in theyr hands. The enimies being gone after this sorte, our men did set a fire fiftene Pataes, which were a ground, and toke other seauen which were a floate, and so departed, going their way alwaies halowing and crieng, as who shuld say, they mockt them, which thing greued the Lord of Repelyn, whose Ilande that was, considering howe ill they found the same provided. And they fearing least our men would returne vpon another towne, which stode a league from the same by the riuer, he sent certeine Paires thereto immediatly.

How the Captaines Generall returned to Repelyn, and afterward went to Cambalar, and what Edwarda Pacheco did in those two iourneys. Chap. 60.

Per Captaines generall having knowledge of these townes, & to the end ther shuld remaine nothing of the Lords of Repelyn y were not destroied, they determined to follow their victory. And therfore h selfe same night they departed, but before they would so do, they rested themselves till it was midnight, hard by h castle, y they might by the dawning of the day come to the towne wher they minded to go. And for al y it was dark, yet they departed at y tyme, although y one of them could not see the other. And Alonso de Alburquerque being loth

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to rentaine behinde, he commanded his men row a space, & by y meanes he was the first that came to the towne, & that a great deale before day. And being weary with staieng for the rest of his compayne, he comauanded to set fire to the towne, with intent to burne the same: & for that the enimies were appouyed for his coming, he supposid he might therfore doe the same the better, and so he did. The enimies seeing the fire, arose forthwith to quench the same, which our men perceiving, did set vpon them, & slew some, & the others ranne their wayes. Thus they did for that they were of a base kinde of people and poore, and without weapons. The Paires knowing that it was our men that had set y fire, came thereto all such of them as were in garison within y towne, which were more then two thousand, who being together, did set vpon our men very desperatly, insomuch that Alonso de Alburquerque with his men, was driven to retire, for that they were no more then fortie, of y which ther was one halfe. & of the others there were some hurt with their arrowes. They had all of them hardly escaped, if so be that they had not retired, which was done not without great trouble. And yet he could not haue done so much if the boyes of the ships which remained in their boats, had not set fire to a Hawlcon, for feare of the which, as soone as the same was shot of, the enimies aparted themselves. By this tyme it was day light, at the which came thereto Francisco de Alburquerque, who whē he had knowledge what had past, comauanded to be shot of all the ordynance that the boats carried, which made the enimies to tie from the shoure. Whiles they were thus doing, Edwarda Pacheco did determine to leape a land, somwhat farther of from the others, & going forth to doe so, he found ther many Paires w theyr weapons, which had past by a narrow way, to y intent to succour their felowe. As soone as he had sight of thē, he comauanded to bring his boat hard to y streight, where w his ordynance he did hinder and keepe that passage. Then immediatly came thereto our men, which forthwith did leape a land, & setting vpon their enimies, insorced thē to run away: and

The Conquest

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and soz that they knew not the countrie, they followed them not, but did set fire to the towne. Then Edwardo Pacheco, & Pedro de Tayde did part themselves with their men to go and burne another Towne which stode a little aboue the other, and in the way they met with eighteene Paraos, all armed, of the king of calycuts, which they did put to flight, and the towne being burnt, as they before had determined, they returned to their Generalls. And soz that it was somwhat rath to returne, they went to the Iland of Cambalan, minding to destroie þ same, soz that the Caimall was entrie to the king of Coching, where they burnt a greate towne. From thence Edwardo Pacheco, with sixe Paraos of Coching, went to burne another towne, but before they could accomplish the same, they fought a god while with their enimies, of the which there were some slaine. The Towne being set a fire, he retourned with his men, of the which were seauen hurt, and beeing retyred, he fought with thirteene Paraos of Calicut, which he did ouercome with the helpe of Pedro de Tayde, & Antonio del campo, which came thether at that instant. The enimies being retorne into a certeine creeke, there went after them Edwardo Pacheco, and was the cause that one of those Paraos ran a ground, and so he tooke the same, and in the meane while the others went their waie. And soz that our men that rowed were wearyed, they went not therefore after them, but returned unto their Captaines generall, with whome they went to Coching. And giuing the king an account of that which they had done, þe yelded himselfe sufficently contented with reuenge of his enimies, and prayed them to glis over the warres.

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What the captaine Generall had done going for a Tone laden with pepper, and how Edwardo Pacheco did put to flight 34. Paraos,
chap. 61.

Now

of the East India.



In by reason of these foysaid wars, there was none that durst bring one graine of Pepper to sell at the factorie. Neither yet durst the merchants goe to souke the same out, and for all that they were able, they could not get more then thre hundred Bahares. And so they sent word to the generalls, willing them to send for it, being nine leagues of from Coching, þ which they immedietly did, beeing accompanied with all the other Captaines of the flote, for that they shoulde goe for the same amongst all their enimies. And because they woulde not be knowne, they departed in the night, and in their way Edwardo Pacheco did destroy an wholle Ilande, where he with onely those of his owne compaine fought with sixe thousand of his enimies, & the Generalls did in the meane while put to flight xxxiiii. Paraos. This beeing done, Edwardo Pacheco and Antonio del campo, went and destroied a greate towne in the firme land, fighting with, & putting to flight two thousand haires, of the which ther were many slaine and hurt, and of our men not one. With this victorie they returned to their Captaines Generall, who sent immedietly for the pepper, which was but a lytle way of, and beeing night, themselves did depart toward Coching, from whence they were minded to send the Tone which carried the pepper, laden with merchandise to giue in truch of the same. And soz that it might goe the surer, Edwardo Pacheco was sent with other three Captaines, who carried each of them sixte men a peice, & of Coching ther went 500. Paraos. Edwardo Pacheco being departed, did passe the foysaid straignt before it was day, & therfore he was not seene, & being broad day did passe by the mouth of a creeke, where ther were hou men without number, þ which shot at our men with their arrowes. And if so be þ our heates had not ben paueiced or fenced with their shelds a targett, our men had received great hurt, for that the riuere was but narrow, so þ with their arrowes they might reach them, Edwardo Pa-

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cheo seeing that they were ioyned all together, and iudg-
ing that on that sort they might do them some harme, com-
manded immediatly one of the Captaines to keepe y Tonc,
and he with the other two, & also those of Cochinch did de-
terminatly come with y proers of their boates a land, where
there were two thousand men of the enimies, amongst the
which he commaunded the Fawlkons to be shott off, the
which did so enter amongst them all, that with the same
there were many forme in pieces, so that it made the residus
to retire from the water side, & there remained place enough
for our men to disimbarke themselves without daunger, &
so they did. And as the most part of them carried hand-
guns, so they did set vpon them with the better Stomacke.
The enimies for all that gaue no place, but shot of their ar-
rowes, which were so many in number, that it was thought
that one met in the aire with another. The skirmish was
valiantly handled of the one side, and of the other, which in
such sort indured a quarter of an houre, yet notwithstanding-
ing, the enimie at length did runne away, and left of their
company many slaine, the cause whereof was, for that they
brought no weapons to offend their enimies withall. Then
our men pursued them to a village, out of the which there
issued many Paires, which ioyning themselves with those y
fled away, returned vpon our men with such a Stomacke
that they ran in great daunger, for that there were of the
enimies we were sixe thousand men. A great multitude of
those y were ther, did then as much as they could to go be-
tweene the riuier and our men, but to resist them that they
should not so doe, and to kill them all, our men defended
themselves, and repelled them with greate difficultie. And
as the riuier was thus defended, so they ran into the same, in
the which they shewed themselves to be valiant. And when
they drew nere to thole that were in their boates, they se-
parated themselves into two severall placcs, leauing one
broad way, that our men might the better imbarke them-
selves, standing without the daunger of their Wrdinaunce,
with the feare of the which the enimies did suffer our men

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to imbarke themselves, wherat there was none either
slaine or hurt, which seemed to be a miracle.

There is contained the scituacion of the Cite
of Coulan, and how the Apostle Saint Thomas
came thether, and there was martyred: and
Alonso de Alburquerque went and laded there,
and in what place did settle a Factorye.
Chap. 62.

Immidiatly after this was the king of Ca-
lycut aduertised of the losse of those men,
and also of all the successe that our men had
in those wars, for the knowledge whereof he
used all diligence, in respect of the great de-
sire he had to turne vs out of the Indias, for
that naturally they could not abide vs. And fearing least that
we shuld take their countrie from them, they were so much
the more desirous to hant vs away. This thing they pro-
cured with great instance, and also were the occasion that
we shoulde haue no Pepper. Making this account, that
it so be that we shoulde goe without the same vnto Portu-
gale, it would be the occasion, that we would not retorne
againe to the Indias. By this meanes therfore we were dri-
uen to prouide for the flotte in their riuers, and that with
such a number of men, that we could neuer haue aboue a
1200. quintall of Pepper, of 4000. Bahares, that the Mer-
chants had promised, and yet this we got with great shot
of Wrdinaunce, and hurt of our men, and with infinit shed-
ding of bloud of the enimies.

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In the ende, the king of Calycut found the meanes by
merchants his friends to perswade with the merchants of
Cochinch, to giue to the Captaine general no more pepper,
excusing themselves with the warres. Which thing was
done in such sort, that neither with the request of the king
of Cochinch, neither with anye gifte that was given
them by Francisco de Alburquerque, he coulde move

or perswade them to give them anye more Pepper. Now the hope of our men for hauing the same anye more in Cochinch bicing past, Alonso de Alburquerque with Pedro de Layde, and Antonio del Campo, were driven to seeke for the same at the citie of Coulan, which they did the sooner, for that they knew that the gouernours of y Towne were desirous of our factorie, the which was offered to Pedro Aluares Cabral, and the Lorde Admirall. Those that thus went thether, were fully bent to make warres against them, if so be that they woulde not give them lading for theyr ships. Alonso de Alburquerque bicing departed from Cochinch with certaine Captaines, came into the port of the Citie of Coulan, the which standeth twelue leagues from Cochinch, and from Comarin xiiii. the which is beyond the same, bearing toward the South.

The description of the citie This Citie (as I saye) before that Calycut was builded, was the principall of the Province of Malabar, and the greatest and most principallest Port of all that Coast. Notwithstanding, as yet their houses be both greate and faire, and so are also theyr vagodes and Chappells comparable to these of Calycut. Their harbour or hauen is verie god, they are well provided of all sortes of vittualis, the people are in condition lyke unto those of Calicut. The inhabitants are Malabars, Gentiles, and Mores, and the Mores are verie rich and greate merchauntes, in especially since the warres beganne betwene Calycut and vs, for many merchauntes of Calycut leste the same, and nowe dwell there. They doe trade in Coromandyll, Ceilan, in the Islands of Maldiva, Bengal, Pegu, Cannatia, and in Malacea.

The king of this countrie is Lorde of a greate Kingdome, wherin are many great Cities and rich, which haue belonging unto them sundry godlye harbours, by reason whereof his customes are great, and for that cause they are riche of Treasure, and are able to make a greate power of men of warre, which are for the moste parte men but of lyttle stature. He hath alwayes in his gard

gard, three hundred women, which doe vse bowes, and are very perfect in the skill of shooting. They haue about their breasts certaine bands of linnen & of silke, with the which they doe binde them so harde, that they are no hinderance vnto them in their shooting. This king hath for y most part of his time, war with the king of Narlinga, which is a great trouble vnto him. He doth continually or for the most part remaine in a Citie, the which they doe call Calle. The Gouernours of Coulan are as it were Aldermen, in the which, there is a certaine Church, which y Apostle Saint Thomas builded, comming thether to preach the Catholike faith, by reason wherof, there were great numbers that turned Christians, as well of the Gentiles, as otherwise, so that of them there are proceeded from generation to generation the number of twelue thousand householders, that are scattered abroad in the Country wher they haue their Churches. The King of Coulan seeing how many were daylye conuereted, and the daunger thereof, did banish him out of his Countrey, who being thus gone, went to a Citie called Malapur, lyeng along that Coast, and is parcell of the Kingdome of Narlinga. And yet being there for y he was so followed by y Gentiles and by y Christians of Coulan, did apart himselfe to y Mountains, wher they affirme y he dyed, & from thence he was brought to be buried in Coulan, in a vault y was made in the foresaide Church. This Church is now ouer-grownen, with bushes and woodes, for that the Citie is disuhabited, onely there remaineth a poore Moore, which doeth keepe the same, for that there are no Christians neare unto it: and there he liueith vpon the almes of all those y commeth thether in Pilgrimage, as well of Christians as of the Gentiles, for y Mores doth not let to give their almes likewise unto him, for that he was buried in their Countrey. Alonso de Alburquerque being come to the harbor of this citie, & the Gouernours having knowledge therof, they came to visite him a bord his ship, where within the same there was settled a peace, y which was made vpon condition, that we should haue our Factory in the Citie, & also should haue

The conditions of the peace made with the inhabitants of this Citie.

as much lading of splices and other commodities, as would lade presently thole ships, the which immediatly they went about to prouide. In the meane while that our men were there, and whilst that the one ship tooke in his lading, the other two kept abroad in the sea, to watch all such as past by from other places, and thole that they could distrie, were brought, some with their god wills, and others there were brought against their wills, to speake with Alonso de Alburque: que, and to shew him obedience as to a Captaine general of y^e king of Portingales. He offered no hurt to any, but onely to the Mores of the red sea: for all such of them as he tooke, he would cause their ships first to be ransacked, and afterward to be burnt, in reuenge of that they had done to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, of the which those of Coulan were greatly afraid. The house for the Factorie being finisched, and the shippes laden, Alonso de Alburquerque lefte there for Factor, one Antonio de Sala, with two scriveners, the one called Rodrigo Aranso, and the other Loparabelo: and for interpretour one called Madera, and two Friers for Chaplaines, with others, the which in all were xx. And so leauing them in peace, he departed toward Coching.

How the Captaine Generall departed for Portingale, and how he left in the Indias for Captaine Generall Edwarda Pacheco. Chap. 63.



¶ These things remaining in this order, there was sent a messenger to Francisco de Alburquerque from Cosebiquin, a More of Calicut, which was a greate friend of ours, as I haue before declared, signifing that the king of Calicut was determined to set vpon Coching, immediatly after he was gone to Portingale, and so take the same, and to fortifie it in such sorte, that

that he myght defend the entering into the harbour, what soever armie shold come. And for the furtheraunce of this enterprise, he had gotten the god will of all the nobilitye of Malabar, and that also for certaintie it was bruted, that the king of Cananor and the king of Coulan would secretly aide him. Duer and besides all this, that the Merchantes Mores did offer him great helpe toward the same. After the selfe same sorte, did Francisco Reynel write unto him a fewe dayes after, and how that the king of Calicut was preparing of souldiers, besides that he had commanded much ordinaunce to be made, and that the Mores of Coching were greatly in his fauour, and therfore he did aduertise him not to trust much unto them: within two daies after the receipt of these letteres, the king of Coching w^t to visit Francisco de Alburquerque, and after the same manner told him that which he had learned of certeine Bramenes that came from Calicut, and willed him to beware & to forese what daunger he was into lose Coching, if so be that ther did remaine no armie of defence for that purpose. Laieng further before him, how many daungers he had bene in for the mainteinance of our friendship, and for that cause his owne subiects had risen against him, and that nowe they minded to doe the like. Yet notwithstanding he had such a hope in our men, and our helpe, that he desired none other succour for to defend him from his enimies, whercof he prated hym not to say hym nay.

¶ To this, Francisco de Alburquerque, aunswered him, The gene rals cōfor table auncyng. that if so be that he did well knowe whether he hadde suffered vnto him, he would receive other greater losses if it were possible. For setting a side the great renoune and fame which he hadde gotten of a true and valiaunt Prince, he hadde also recovered for a friende the king of Portingale, which is Lorde of such subiects as he hath seene, who also are his to obeye and serue him in all thing, when neede should require.

And "

„ And farther, that they woulde with small trouble make him
„ Lord of greater cities then Cochinch, and that also he might
„ belieue, that even as they did restore him unto his estate,
„ even so they woulde conserue him in the same. And although
„ that there were made with the King of Calicut the great
„ test peace that could be, yet he sayde he had so small a confi-
„ dence in his dwyngs, that he woulde not leaue him without
„ an armie of shys, before that he departed from the Indias,
„ for that he did well know, how little truthe that King vled.
„ And if so be, that vntil this time he had dissembled with him,
„ it was onely to see whether by this meanes he might lade
„ his shys, for other wile he could not do it, in especiall y tyme
„ being as it is, so neere spent.

With this awaſ were, the King was ſatisfied: and ſince
that Francisco de Alburquerque could haue no more Pepper
then that he had, which was but a ſmall quantitie, hee
determined to depart toward Portungale, but firſt he woulde
nominate him that ſhoulde remaine in the Indias for Cap-
taine generall, that the King of Cochinch ſhould understand
the ſame. And for that he knew, that he that was appoynted,
would thinke it very dangerous to remaine there, with
ſo few men as he was able to leaue him, he durſt commit
it to none of his Captaines. Howbeit after that he had offe-
red the ſame to them all, and they were not willing to ac-
cept it, laſt of all he gaue the gouernment to Edward Pache-
co, who did accept it with a great god will, more ſo, to
ſerue God and his king, then for any profit he knewe that
he ſhould get in remaining in the Indias.

And when it was once ſpread abroad, & knowne to the
King of Cochinch, that Edward Pacheſco was he that was
appointed, he was well pleased therewith, for that he hadde
heard before of his valour. This being concluded vpon,
Francisco de Alburquerque made ſatle, carrieng with him
all the rest of the flete. But firſt he gaue the King to undeſtand
that he did carry the ſame no further then to Cananor, for
because of the flete of Calicut, whiche might en-
counter with him, and ſo worke him ſome displeaſure in his
port

Edward
Pacheſco
apointed
Captaine
generall
for the
Indias

Port, where he minded to ſtay (as he did) procuring the ly-
bertie of Rodrigo Reynel and the others that were there.
This determination being knowne to the King of Ca-
lycut, he ſent him word, that it were not requisite that he
ſhould haue him away, but rather offered him, if ſo be that
he woulde tarrie, to give him the Pepper that he had promi-
ſed to delyuer. But hearing this, he ſuppoſed that he gaue
the ſame out, that Rodrigo Reynel with the others, ſhould
be the more deſtrous to remaine in the Indias. At this in-
ſtaunt came in Alonso de Alburquerque which retourned
from Coulan, and the tyme being ſpent, he woulde not tarrye
there any longer, but with the rest went toward Cananor.
And being there arrived, there came a letter from Rodrigo
Reynel, in the which he wrote unto him, that the King of
Calicut was certaintly bent to ſet vpon Cochinch, immedi-
ately after that he were gone. And that all thofe diſſimula-
tions which he did vſe in offering to give him Pepper, was
but for feare he had conciued that he woulde haue burnt his
shys, which were as then in his harbour. This newes the
Captaine generall kept close to himſelfe, that the ſame ſhuld
not come to yeares of Edward Pacheſco, unto whom was
lefte the ſhippe in the which he went, and two Caruells, of
the which were Captaines Pedro Kaphael and Diego Pi-
cres, beſides a ſhippe boate.

Also they lefte him foure ſcore and tenne men, and thofe
whole, that were needfull, for all the rest were ſicke. Also,
there was leſt him, the moſt parte of the Ordinaunce, with
the moſt parte of the munition that they were able to ſpare.
Now being knowne to them all, of the great power that
the King of Calicut had in a readinesſe, they did then mer-
rayle, that Edward Pacheſco would accept the ſame, in eſ-
pecially, for that he remayned with ſo ſmall a flete. Some
therefore there were that gaue out and ſayd, God haue
mercie vpon Edward Pacheſco, and thofe that doe remayne
with him: ſuppoſing that in very deede, he ſhoulde not eſ-
cape.

And although theſe words were ſpoken within his hea-
LL. ring,

hearing, yet for all that he would not betarrie : The Cap-
taine Generall beeing dispatched, did depart towardes Port-
tingale, the last of Januariye, in the yeare of our Lord
1504.

The first that made saile was Alonso de Alburquerque, Francisco de Alburquerque, and Nicholas Coelio that departed afterwarde, were cast awaye, Pedro de Taide was driven to Quyloa, and entering vpon the Barre, his Shipp was there cast awaye, with the most parte of his men, by meanes whereof hee went to Monsan-
bique in a Zanbuco, where afterwarde hee dyed. Hee lefte there a Letter written of all his successe, and also declaring in what estate the Indias did remaine, which hee com-
maunded to haue delivred to any Captaine that should come thether from Portingale.

Alonso de Alburquerque, and Antonio del Cam-
po came to Lishborne the thre and twenteth of August, in the yeare aboue sayde, and tolde the King of the estate of the Indias, who also presented him with four hundred weight of the greate seede of Pearles, which is called Alhoter or Ragges, and with 144. pounde weight of great Pearle, of greate estimation, and eight Dysters, in the which the same do growe : and also a Diamond Tablet, the which was as bigge as a greate Beane, besides many other iew-
ells, and also two horses out of Persia, the which were great runners.

How Edward Pacheco behaued himselfe in Ca-
nanor, and in his course toward Coching : and
what else he past with the king at his attiual.
chap. 64.

Francisco de Alburquerque beeing departed towardes Portingale, Edward Pacheco which remained for Captaine Generall in the Indias, hauing a while stayed in

in Cananor to take in there his vticalles, brought him-
selfe vnder sayle, and came to an Ankor without the point
of Cananor, and from thence hee sent Pedro Raphaell
to goe a long the Coast, and to cause all such Shippes as
he coulde discrye to beare with the Captaine, and to re-
knowlede him for their Generall. At this instant was
Diego Pieres a newe rigging of his Caruell in Coching.
And all these Shippes that were brought before the Gen-
erall, gaue an account whether they were bounde, and
what they carryed, and also of whence they were. And it
so bee that hee founde anpe Pepper, hee woulde take the
same as hee did from some other shippes that were bound
to Calicut, in the which order hee vled such rigour, that
afterwarde hee was feared of all men.

Whiles hee was thus at an Ankor, there came vpon
him in the night a fflete of twentye and ffeue Saile of
Shippes, which vpon a sodeine made him to conjecture
that they were of Calicut. And seeing himselfe in such
daunger, hee commaunded to let slippe their Cabells by
theyz Halsis, for that vpon such a sodeine they coulde not
weye theyz Ankors with theyz Capskeines, and with the
same he cut and made his course into the Sea, to bring
himselfe in the winde of those Sayles, vpon whome hee
commaunded to shote off all his Ordinaunce. And as they
were shippes laden with Rice, so ranne they their waye as
fast as they coulde. Some there were that ranne a grounde,
and more hurt had bene done, had it not beeene for a greate
ship of the Mores that came in their company, in the which
were well neare to the number of 400. Mores, that were of
the kingdome of Cananor. These thinking that they might
take our shipp, came sodeinly vpon them, alwaies shooting
of their arrowes, and we aunswering them likewise with
our Ordinaunce. This skirmish continued till it was al-
most day, and then they tolde what they were. After that Ed-
ward Pacheco had thus well beaten him with his Ordinaunce,
with the which were nine of his men slaine, besides
many that were hurt, they tolde what they were.

A valiant
Skirmish
with an
hot ship
of the
Mores.

And soz that there durst not passe anye ship by soz fears
that they shuld be taken, the Captaine Generall departed to-
wards Cochincing, and in the waye he fought with certeine
ships of the Mores, some he burnt, and others he tooke, be-
side thos that were sunke. Thus with greate victorie he
arrived at Cochincing, and landed at the Castle, where he un-
sterode by the Factor, that the newes of the preparation
that the king of Calicut had made for the warres was most
true, and that the king of Cochincing stood in greate fears
thereof, for that the Mores that were inhabitantes of Co-
chincing, were against their king for the mainteining of these
warres against the king of Calicut. The next day follow-
ing the Captaine Generall went to visite the king of Co-
chincing, carrieng his boates with him well armed and fensed,
with certeine paoelies made of woodes, and sette with
flagges, besides certeine Ordinaunce which they had in the
same, with the which he shewed himselfe to be verye ioy-
full, the rather that the king might take occasion to be mer-
rie: who after that he vnderstoode how small a flete there
was left to defend his countrie withall, he could not bee but
verye pensatiue, and sayde vnto the Captaine Generall,
that the Mores of Cochincing hadde tolde him that he did not
remaine in the Indias to defende him from the king of
Calicuts power, but to gather together the Merchaundise
that were in the Factoorye in Cochincing, and in the Factors
estodie, with all those that were there, and so to carry them
all to Cannanor and Coulan.

What
great feare
the king of
Cochincing
was put
into by
his traite-
rous sub-
iects.

And therefore he earnestlye requested him to tell him
if it were so or not, for he did thinke the same to be true,
by reason that there was leste so small a flete. Whiche
the rather also made him to doubt that he would not tar-
rie to fight with the king of Calicuts power, but woldes
doe as the Mores hadde tolde him, wherefore he prayed
him to aduertise him of the truth thereof, for that if it were
so, he might in time seeke his reuenge, although as then he
should hardlye finde the same, since that he had no further
helpe.

The

The Captaine Generall perceiving the distrust that the
king had, was offended therewith, and aunswere him,
saieng.

The au-
sive
which the
Captaine
Generall
made to
king of
Cochincing.
Doe much meruaile of the (considering that thou hast
so great experiance of the fidelitie of the Portingales)
that thou doest aske me whether I doe remaine so trait-
erous an act, as this is, that in such a time I should do as
the Mores haue tolde the, & thou wilt beleue them, know-
ing that they are so greatly our enimies. Thinking that
thou vnderstanding of this, shouldest not bring in question
such a matter out of all reason. And if so be that Francis-
co de Alburquerque would haue done any such thing, it
had bene a great deale better that he with all his Captains
had done it, and not haue left me alone to do the same, & to
runne in daunger, and to mete on the seas with so great a
flet of the kings of Calicut, for them to set vpon mee only.
And if it were so that I shoulde haue remained so to haue
done so soule a deede, yet I wold haue tolde the thereof,
that I had so meant to doe, for that I was afeare of the
king of Calicuts power. But so that I doe take the to be
a man indued with reason, I did suppose that thou woul-
dest not haue thought ill thereof. For otherwile those bee-
ing warned thereof, it might haue bene very profitable vni-
to the, to haue remained free from the enuie and mallice of
the king of Calicut. Whiche thing if so be that the Mores
had considered of, they wold haue tolde the so great a
fable. Belleeue me, if they could haue done the a greater in-
urie, they wold haue done it, for the god will thou doest
beare vnto vs. This I doe knowe very well, but let not
that trouble the. For although thou doest lose them, and
all the rest of thy subiectes, yet thou doest recover me, and
as many Portingales as heere remaine, who all will die in
thy seruice if it were neede, for that is the onely cause wee
did remaine in the Indias, and in especially: for there was
no man that bound me therewith, if so be y I wold not, but
only the fidelite & truthe which thou hast alwaies vse to

ll.iii.

wards

„ warbs our men vntill syth tyme as thou diddest loose Co-
 „ ching, and biddest see the same burnt. For ths which carde
 „ thou oughtest to esteeme the better of thy selfe, for thereby
 „ thou hast exalted thy same through all the Countrie, and
 „ therfore thy name wil remaine for ever, which is the grea-
 „ test treasure that kings canne leauie behinde them, and the
 „ onely thing that all men doe like for. And beleue me, when
 „ the king of Calycut did first set fire to Coching, the same
 „ was his destruction, which was afterwarde well rene-
 „ ged vpon thine enimies by the Portingales, & so thou shalt
 „ now bee as well defended by them. And although thou do-
 „ est thynke vs to bee fewe and a small flete, yet I doe pro-
 „ mise thee, that very shortly we will come to see verye ma-
 „ ny by our valyantnesse. And I hope in God that we shall
 „ so defend whatsoeuer straignt or passage the king of Caly-
 cut shall enter into, where assuredly we will tarry and not
 „ remoue our selues from thence, neither night nor daye, and
 „ for the passages that are straignt, our armie is inough, and
 „ therfore it skilleth not, there remaine no more for the ri-
 „ uers, for that these are sufficient. And since that they chose
 „ me to remaine, beleue certeinly that they did well knowe
 „ they left him that shal excuse thes of thy trauaile, and of the
 „ weariseng of thy men. And therefore be thou merrie and re-
 „ solue thy selfe (that by Gods grace) it shall not happen now
 „ vnto thes as heretofore it didde, when thou diddest loose
 „ Coching: for I and these that doe remaine with me shall
 „ take vpon vs the whole charge and daunger of the
 „ warres.

How the Moores of Coching prepared to go from
 thence: and how the capteine Generall stayde
 certeine of them that they shoulde not departe,
 and what more he did. chap. 65.

The



He king being with this, somewhat eased &
 recomforted, touching that the Moores had
 told him, the Capteine general went to see
 the streights, & to fortifie them, which had
 great neede thereof. But they all were wel
 furnished, sauing onely the foyrd, which he
 commanded to be fortified with stakes, that ther might en-
 ter no vessells of the enimies. In the meane time he was
 aduertised by a Letter from Rodrigo Reynel, that a prin-
 cipall Moore of Coching, and besides diverse others, did pro-
 cure all that they could to leauie the citie, that y king might
 remaine alone, & that therupon this Moore hath come twice
 to speake with the king of Calycut in his owne behalfe, and
 in the name of the others. This newes troubled the Cap-
 taine Generall a while, howbeit to disappoint them of their
 suttle dealing, and that the same shoulde take no effect, he
 thought it necessarie to execute this principall Moore, that
 the others might conceiue some feare thereof. This beeing
 knowne to the king of Coching, he woulde not consent
 therunto, thinking that if so be that he were executed, the
 others woulde make a muterie immediatly, and then there
 shuld be no victuals brought into the citie, for that those did
 prouide the citie therewith in trucke of their merchandise,
 and therefore he thought best to dissemble with them all.
 The Capteine Generall seeing that the king woulde not
 consent therunto, tolde him that he woulde talke with the
 Moores himselfe, and that he had thought to vse some poli-
 cie that none of them shoulde depart out of the citie. But first
 he commaundered all his owne men to obeye him in all such
 occasions as shoulde be needfull or requisite, which comman-
 dement the king also gaue out amongst his subiect: this be-
 ing done, the Capteine general went with forty of his men
 to Coching, to the house of this principall Moore called Be-
 linamacar, who dwelt hard by the riuer side, requesting him
 to send for certeine Moores which he did name, for y he wold
 consult with them vpon a certeine matter which did con-
 cerne them all.

To

The Conquest

To whom the Spores came immediatly, soz that they were afeard of him, and when hee sawe them all, he laide unto them.

The gene-
rals Orati-
on to the
Mores co-
cerning
his abode
in the the
Indias. I Did send for you all, honest Merchants, that you shoulde understand, whethore and for what cause I remained in the Indias, for that it is possible that all you do not know. Some shere be that doe report that I do remaine to gather together the Factorie, and so to carrie the same to Coulan, and to c:n nor: but that you may understand it is not so,

I will therefore tell you the truth. I doe remaine for no other purpose but onely to keepe Coching, and if so be that it were needfull or requisite, to die my selfe, and all those that doe remaine with me, in your defence, in preseruing you from the king of Calycut. And this shall be manifest unto him, if so be that he doe come, for I promise you all, that I will meet with him in the way of Ambalar, wher as it is tolde me he will enter, and if so be there he dares fight with me, I will not doubt but to take him prisoner, and carrie him with me into Portingale. Wherefore until such time as you doe not see any thing to the contrarie, I earnestly request you that you doe not goe from Coching, for that I heare that you are minded to goe from thence, & that you doe alyre the residue of the inhabitants with you, for as you are the chieffest and principalls, so all the common sort of people doth follow you. Now I meruiale much y being men of so gret wisdom as you are, you wil leave your houses in the which you were borne, the country where in you have dwelt so many yeres, not for feare of any thing that you haue seene, but onely of that which you heare, which thing for women to doe were verye ill, much more for you that are men. But if so be that you would go, when you shall see me in daunger, or else runne awaie, I woulde not blame you, but to goe awaie before you haue seene any of these daungers, or anye battaile fought, I account the same, either cowardise, or else mallice. You doe well know, that in a manner yesterday, how few Portingales did

How few
Portingals
haue van-
quished
thousdls
of their
enimies. giue

of the East India.

give the ouerthowe to thousands of our enimies, which , now also come to seeke vs out. And if so be that you will , alleadge, that we were more in number then we are now, , indeade it is so, for then we fought in open fielde, where it , was necessarie there shoulde be many: and noire in a nar- , rowe waye , where a fewe shall doe as much as though , were many more. And since that I can fight, as you haue , well heard of the same, for that I haue bene he that haue , done most hurt to our enimies (as the king of Coching is , a god witnessse thereof) I never meane to yelde, who shall , loose more then you all, if I be ouercome. Haue ye therfore , a sure hope in me, and in those that remaine with me, , and tarrie vntill such time you may see the successe of all , things that we dae looke for, and since that your king doth , tarrie, why will ye goe your waie? Remember that I and , the others that doe remaine with me, doe sojourne in the , Indias so farre from our Countrie, to defend the king of , Coching, and you that are his subiects and naturally borne , in the Countrie. Will you then forslake him and your coun- , trye? It were great shame for women so to doe, much more , for honest men as you are. I doe desire you that you do not , dishonour your selues, nor yet doe to me so great an iniu- , rie, in hauing no confidence that I will defend you: for I , do give unto you all my word, that I will defend you fro , a greater power then any the king of Calycut canne make. For therefore and for this cause was I chosen , and those , that did appoint me to remaine in the Indias, did know of , the warres that the king of Calycut intended , and what , power he had, in respect whereof I doe once againe request , you, to beleue that the king of Calycut shall never set his , foot in Coching . Wherefore I desire you that none of , you doe remoue, for whosoever doth otherwise shall well , understand, that if so be I may take him I will hang him, , and so I swaere by my lawe. And moretuer I giue you to , understande, that none of you all shall escape, for haire in , this port I doe minde to tarrie, watching both day & night. , Now therfore let every one of you looke to that which shall , be ,

An hard
threning
but poly-
tike and
necessary.

The Conquest

„ before him, and if so be you doe performe that which I
„ haue requested you, doe you then assure your selues to haue
„ me for your friend, and if not, for your mortall enimie, and
„ more cruell then you would wish me to bee to the king of
„ Calycut. And therfore each of you, speak plainly your mind
„ what you will doe herein.

This beeing spoken, it gaue him occasion to encrease his
cholar, that without any consideration thereof, he did speak
so lowde, that the Mores with the same did double theyr
feare, that they had conceiued of him, fearing indeede that
immediately he would haue hanged them all. Therfore pre-
sently they began to excuse themselves, touching that hee
charged them with all, but he woulde not tarrie the hea-
ring of the same, to the intent to put them in greater feare,
but sent immediatly for his Ship, causing it to be brought
to an Ankoz, hard ouer against Coching, besides one of the
Carnells, and two of the boates, which he appointed forth-
with to bee set in such order, that there coulde none goe out
of Coching by water, but must needes bee sene.

He had also many Paraos, which he hadde caused to bee
newly rigged, with the which in the night, he watched in
the riuers, which runne round about the citie. Also at Sun-
setting he would take all the boates that could carry men or
stufte, and commaund the same to be brought a boord his
Ship, and to kepe the watch, and in the morning he returned
them to their owners. With this diligence they of Co-
ching were so feared, that there was none y durst go forth
without his licence, & by meanes of those extremities vsed,
the Mores and Gentiles were quiet, yet for all these trou-
bles that the Captaine Generall had, the most part of the
night he would venture a land into Repelyn, in the which
he burnt townes, killed men, and tooke greate store of Cat-
tell and Paraos, and also did them sundrie other iniuries, at
the which the Mores of Coching much meruailed, namely,
how he could suffer so great trauaile, and therfore they gaue
out, that he was the diuell.

How

of the East India.

How the Captaine Generall made an entrie into
Repelyn, and also how he departed towrdes
the straights of Cambalan, there to tarrie the
king of Calicuts comming. Chap. 66.



This instant was the king of Co-
ching aduertised that the king of
Calicut was come to Repelyn, to ga-
ther his power together, and so to go
from thence to Coching by the
straights of Cambalan. After y leise
same manner did Rodrigo Reinel,
write vnto him, who lay as then ve-
ry sicke, and afterward dyed, which
the king of Calycut hearing, commannded to be taken all
that he had. This being knowne to the Mores of Coching
that the king of Calycut was in Repelyn, they wold haue
gauen occasion to the townes men to haue runne away, but
there was none that durst venture to doe it, for feare of the
Captaine Generall. Who after that he knew for certaintye
of his beeing in Repelyn, and that all men myght under-
stand how little he did esteime the king of Calycut and his
power, and armie of ships, did one night set vpon a towne
of the countrie of Repelyn, at such houres when all were
a sleepe, and did set fire to the same. And after that it was
well kindled, our men were knowne, and immediatly there
came many Paires, as wel of the towne, as also from other
places thereabouts adioyning. The Captaine Generall was
forced to retir, & that with great daunger, vnto his boates,
with ffe of his men hurt, and of his enimies there were
many slaine and hurt, & yet for all that, those enimies that
remained aliue, followed him a god while. And as our men theyt
returned toward Coching, there were shot by them so ma-
ny arrows which fell vpon their boates, that their targets
were all couered with the same.

This being knowne to the king of Coching, that he was
come to the Castle, he went to visit him, for that he accoun-
ted

they cal y
Captaine
Generall
a Diuell.

The cap-
taine gene-
rall & his
men infor-
med to re-
tire into
boates.

Pin. ii.

ted

The Conquest

ted that entirly for a great matter, in especially the king of alycut beeing there present, who had in a readinesse so greate and myghtie a power; and so he saide. At the which the Captaine Generall laughed, and therewithall he tolde him that he woulde desire no more but that the King of Calicut would once come, for that he woulde fight with him a battaile, and then woulde be apparaunt the valiantnesse of his men. They of Cochinch being now all quiet, as also the Captains general hauing made vnto the principals an Oration, he prepared his men in a readinesse for that he minded to depart to the straights of Cambalan. And in the meane while he left in the shipp xii men with the master, which was called Diego Perrera, whom he left for Captaine in his absence, and also as well furnished with Ordinance and shot, that they might defend themselves the better. The names of those that tarried with him I do omit, as also those that remained in the Castle. Those that the Captaine Generall carried with him, were to the number of xxxiiii men: and in one of the boates he appointed for Captaine, him that went for Captaine in the Caruell Santa Maria, whiles she was a rigging, with xxii men. The Captaine Generall went in another boate, in the which with himselfe there were one and twentie men. Amongst them all their number was lxxiiii men, who all both those that were in the Caruell, and those that were in the boate, beeing all confessed, and hauing received the Sacrament, the Captaine Generall departed to the straights of Cambalan, on the Fryday before Palmes Sunday, being the xvi. of Apill. 1504. Thus departing with great pleasure, and with shooting of their Ordinance, leaping, and dauncing, when they came ouer against Cochinch, the Generall landed to talke with the king, which was tarrieng for his coming by the water side, so heauie and so sadde, that he coulde not hide the same. The Captaine Generall making as though he understood nothing of it, laid vnto him: that there they were all ready with great pleasure and god will, to depart toward the passage, to defend him from the king of Calicut,

1504

These words the Captaine Generall speake vnto the king at his departure towards the passage.

of the East India.

licut, whom they went to take out, that he shoulde understand that they had no feare of him. The king smilid at these words, as it were suspecting his god successe. Notwithstanding, he appointed him 500 Paires (of ffeue thousande which he had in armes) of the whiche he named for Captaines, Gandagora, and Frangera, which were overseers of his householde, and Caymal de Paluuta, to whome hee gaue commaundement that they shoulde obey the Captaine generall as his owne person. This beeing done, the king stode and viewed all our Fleete, who at that time shewed himselfe to be very heauie, to see how few we were in comparison of the great power of the king of Calicut, and vpon the same tooke occasion to speake vnto the Captaine Generall, saing.

There was represent vnto him the great danger which the vwords of þ king of Co. ching to the cap- taine ge- nerali.

He feared might happen vnto him, and that which chanceth to himselfe this last yeare. And therefore doe I desire thee, quoth he, to encourage thy selfe to doe that which thou art able, and not to suffer thy heart to deceiue thee, but to remember how much the king of Portingale shall lose in losing thee: and with those wordes his eyes stode full of water, whiche to see, the Captaine Generall was very sorie, and sayd vnto him.

That better are a few and valiant, then a great multitude and cowards. And whether (sayd he) our men be valiant or not, your selfe haue well seene, & also how contrary wise it fareth with the enimies, your selfe likewise haue had experience. He inferred also howe in that place where hee minded to tarrie for his comming, therre needed but a fewe to defend him. And therfore he prayed him for to be content, and therewithal he departed, and came to the passage of Cambalan, two houres before day, where finding no signe of the comming of the king of Calicut, he went in the meane while, and did set vpon a towne of the selfe same Ilande of the Caimalls, where in the dawning of the day he arrived in the Harbour, a long the which there was appoynted, 800 Payzes to keep the same, which were Archers, and

pm. iii.

a few with their Caléuers, which were there taryng for him. And although those with their calyuers, and the residue with their arrowes, shot of at our men, in such manner that they seemed to shadow the Element, yet with the paxices of our boates, the which were made of boards of two fingers thicke, much like vnto Targets or Shields, we did so defend them of, that they wer driven to row toward the land, which was done for that those þ wer there shuld geue place, þ our men might leap a land. Then þ Captaine general comanded his ordynance to be shot of, with þ which they lept a land: howbeit, þ enemies returned vpon them, & therin shewed themselves to be valiant, for þ space of an houre. But afterward they fled apace, & many of them in the conflict, at þ preſet wer both slain and hurt at our mens hands. But after that our men had set fire to the towne, and the same was well kindled, the captaine generall did retire, & going toward the passage, in their way they toke and killed much cattell which they carried with them: and although the people of the countrey did defend themselves very wel, yet our men being come to the passage of Cambalan, the Caynall sent to make peace with the captaine generall, with a certaine present, which he would not receiue, neither yet make peace with him, for that he was an enemie vnto the king of Coching. Whereupon the next day after, the king of Calicut sent him word that he would geue him the battell, and also that he was greatly offended that he had placed himselfe where he did minds to enter. And moreover, it was tolde him that they did all affirme, that the kinge of Calicut was like to geue him the ouerthowe and to take him prisoner, or els to kill him in the battell.

Heere the
battell
was offe-
red by the
king of
Calicut
vnto the
captaine
Generall.
To the which the captaine generall answered, that the selfe same hope he had to doe by the king, the rather in honour of the daye, which was a solemne feaste amongst the Chirilians, adding moreover þ his wytchys had disappoyned & deceipted him much, to promise him the victory in such a day. Then a certaine Nayre which came with this messenger, hearing the Captaine generall say so, answered him

him, and that with a smiling countenaunce, as though he had mocked him, that there were very few men to doe þ which he spake of: & also þ the king of Calicuts men were so many, þ they were sufficient to couer the whole earth & the water. Which if it be so, how (said he) can they be ouercome. With this answere þ Captaine generall was greatly offended, & for that he was thought to be one of the king of Calicuts Nayres, he bort him well, willing him to bid the king of Calicut reuenge the same. With the which the others that came with the message, were so greatly afraid, that they never durst afterward auouch the king of Calicut.

That same evening the King of Coching sent to ayde the Captaine Generall with fife hundred Nayres, of the which he made no account, nor of the others before, for that he knew they would all run away. In our men, next vnder God, hee had his confidence and whole trusse, who all that night made greate feaste, that the kinge of Calicut might vnderstande that they did not feare him, but rather shewed great forwardnes to geue him þ battell, of the which þ Captaine generall was very glad. And therfore before it was day, he spake vnto al his men in this manner. Masters and my friends, for the great content that I doe finde in you, I doe for most certain prognosticate the great gift þ God in his service wil geue vnto vs this day. And I doe beleue for most certaine, that as God hath geuſ to his meſ words spoken vnto his meſ. vs stomacke (being so few as we are) to dare tary & abide so many thousands of men as there are of our enemies: so he will geue vs force and strength to resist them, & herein wil shew his great powrer, & as it were a miracle so greate as this is, in þ exalting of his holy faith: and in his holye name I do desire you, that you wil so beleue, for þ without this hope, although we were as many as the enemies are, and they as few as wee bee, yet all our strength were nothing, and being in this hope, all the multitude of the enemies will seeme vnto vs but few to ouer come: for they doe judge vs to be many more then wee are, their feare is such. And this also you may beleue, that if their com.

„ comming as at this day with their great presumption be-
„ so that they are many, having most assured hope to take vs,
„ yet they will haue a feare from hence forth, so that they
„ spirits will be broken, to set vpon vs any more, which thing
„ if they did, it wold be more for feare of the king of Caly-
„ cut, then for any god zeale they haue vnto him. And there-
„ fore I pray you remember, that with this confidence you
„ must fight, and God shall give you the victorie, and that
„ with honour of all the Portingales, and a perpetuall fame
„ amongst the straungers, and deserts before our king, that
„ he may reward you for the same, wherby you shall the bet-
„ ter mainteine your selues all the dayes of your life.

Unto these words they all aunswere, that in the bat-
tell he shoulde well see how well they did remember his
speach. And immedialy they fell vpon their knēs and sung
the Salve regina in tune, & afterward an Ave Maria with
a lowde voice. At this present came Larencio Moreno from
the Castle, who brought with him foure of his Caleuer
men, for they wold needs exercise themselues in this bat-
tell. The Captaine Generall was very glad of their com-
ming, for that they were very valiant.

How the king of Calicut gaue battaile vnto the Cap-
taine Generall in the straights of Cambalan, and
how he had the ouerthrow. chap. 67.

His night by the perswasion of the Italian
runagates, the king of Calicut commaun-
ded to be made a plat-forme or sconce, on
the which there might be placed five pe-
ces of Ordinaunce, the which might stand
right ouer against wher the Captaine Ge-
nerall was, that from thence they might shooe off their
ordinaunce, at what time they meant to give the onset, and
for that the straughtnesse of the passage was a daun-
ger vnto him. So on Palmes Sunday the king of Calicut
marched forward, with xvii. thousand men, the which were
as

as wel of the Maires as of the Mores: besides that he went
accompanied with the king & Catnally, which were come
vnto him to aide and succour him, not onelye with their
owne persons, but also with their men. That is to say, the
king of Lanoi, with foure thousand Payres: the king of The kings
Bybur, and of Curran, which is hard by the Mountaines of and Cai-
Narsinga, with twelue thousand Payres: the king of Co-
togataco, which standeth betwene Cananor and Calicut, al-
ways by the Mountaines, with eighteene thousand Maires:
The king of Curia, which is betwene Panane and Gran-
galor, with thre thousand Maires: Also Nabeadarin, which
was Prince of Calicut and Namboa his brother, and the
king of Calicut himselfe, who had a great number, which
for that they were many, I doe not rehearse. The sortes of
instruments that they had for the wars were so many and
diverse, that when they began to play vpon the same, it was
thought that heauen and earth woulde toyne together.
Over & besides the great multitude of the people, the which
did couer the whole earth. Those that went in the vanguard,
as soone as they came to their setting, did give fire to they
ordinance, which as they lay neere to the Carnel, so it appe-
red partly a miracle, that there was no peice that did hurt
it. Howbeit our Ordinance being shot off, did all light full
amongst the enimies, and killed many of them, although it
was before day, the which vntill Sunne did rise, were in
discharging out of the Carnell, aboue xxx. peices.

After all this, the whale flēete of the enimies beganne
to come out of the riuers of Repelyn, which were 169.
Foyles, that is to say, thre score and sixe paraos, the which
hadde theyr defence of lackes of Cotten, which devise was
givuen them by the Italians, that our Ordinaunce shoulde
not hurt their men.

Each of theyr boates or Paraos had two peices of Ordinaunce in them, and five and twentie men, of the which
there were five in every Paraos that had their Caleuers, and
all the rest were bow men.

Also there were twentie of these Foyles, all cheined to-
gether,

gether, soz to set upon the Caruell. Also there were liif. Catures, beside thirtie greate Barks, each of these hadde his peice of Ordinaunce, and sixtene men, which serued in him with sundry kindes of weapons.

Besides all these armed vessells, there went other furnished with men, which bæing all together, it seemed that the whole riuer was couered ouer, in the which Fleet were well nere x. thousand men, and of this fleet was Admerall Nabeadarin, and for Vice Admerall the Lord of Repelyn. Certainly to see them altogether upon the water and lande, was a greate terrorour, all of them bæing halfe naked, some of coutour blacke, and others of a darke Tawnye. And vpon their weapons the Sunne did so glister, that they appeared as though they had beeþe swordes, and newly ground, and so lykewise did their targets, the which were of sundrie coulours, and shewed very gallant. And for that our men shold stand in the moze feare of them, they gaue out great cries and laroms. After this they began to sound vpon their instrumentes of warre, which noysse contynued alwayes, nowe after one seyce, and then after another.

Our men bearing amongst such a multitude, and beeþing in theyz Caruell and theyz boates, coulde scarcely bee discerned, for with the Fleet, they occupied almost all the passage, by meaneþ of ropes they gaue the one the other, which ropes were wounde about with cheynes, that they shold not cut them a Sunder. And after that they hadde done this, commaundement was giuen, to give fire to the Ordinaunce, with the which the enimyees were receiued.

At this instant those Payres that were of Coching did all runne awaye, onely Grandagora and Frangora remaied for that they were in the Caruell: otherwise they woulde haue gone as the others did, which had bene no matter, but that they shold see how valiantly our men deſended themſelues in the battell, into the which they went in a great heate.

The
Naires of
Coching
do all run
away

The

The Ordinaunce went off so osten, and lykewise the small shot, that there was none that coulde ſee one another, for the smoake of the ſame. The Caruell and the Boates did ſo flame in fire, and did ſo cruelly handle the enimyees at the firſt entering, that there were forke in peeces ſome of their Paraos, and manye of their men ſlaine and hurt, without any of ours hurt, or ſtanding in any daunger therof at all. By this time, the enimyees were come, within the throwe of a Dart. Howbeit, as they were many, and that without order, the one did hurt and hinder the other, ſo that they could not fight. Yet notwithstanding, the xvi. Paraos that went before, did trouble our men verye much with theyz Ordinaunce which they had, ſo that they went cheined together.

Our men being wearied and hurt, and the battaile hauing endured a god while, the Captaine Generall commaunded a Baker to be ſhotte at them, the which till that time had not beeþe ſhot at the enimyees. And after that the ſame was twice diſcharged, they all fledde, and for that they laye very thicke together, it diſcomfited, doe ſoure of them, and with that they were all ouercome, and vwaye. The residue of the paraos which diſcontinued in the battaile, were eightene ſunk, and thirtene fledde awaye, the residue gaue place, in the which there were of the enimyees greate numbers ſlaine and hurt.

After all this came the Vice Admerall called the Lord of Repelyn, with another ſquadron, and gaue a proud onſet, ſo did the king of Calycut giue the lyke vpon the land. This battaile was farre more vehement then the firſt, in the which were manye more of the enimyees ſlaine, then before, as appeared by the water which was of the coulour of bloud. Yet for all this, the Lord of Repelyn made lowde outcrys, commaunding them to laye the Caruell aboarde, but for all that they durst not venture to doe it, but rather were desirous to goe theyz waye, as they also that were a land diſlike.

It was now at this present past Enensong, from the time the battell did first beginne, in the which were of the enemis slaine, not onely by land, but also by water. 350. men, which were knowne, besydes others, the which were aboue a thousand: and of our men there were some hurt, but none slaine. And although they pellets were made of cast yron, yet they did no more hurt, then a stonye beeing thowyne.

Howbeit, our defences were all toerne in pecces, and one of our boates also, neuerthelesse, not in such sorte, but that it might bee new rigged before that it was night.

How the king of Calicut seeing the ill successe that hee had in the warres, did enter into councell to leaue the same. Chap. 68.



W^hose kings and noble men which came to succour and aide the king of Calicut, perceiving that he was thus ouerthowne, and that with great losse both of his men & vessells, although his power were great, and ours but very smal, & that the captain Generall never made any reckoning of the king of Calicut nor of his force, but for al that did ouerrun the Countrie, & destroyed it, some there were of them that made a greate wonder thereat, & sayd that our God did fight for vs, wherupon they lost all the hope they had for euer to give vs the ouerthowne, and from thence forth they had themselues in no reputation, but rather were very sorie that it was their euill hap to come in the aide of the king of Calicut. Those that did most repent themselues of their comming, were subiects to the king of Cochinchina, for that their countries were scituated along the riuers, which did put them in the more feare of the Captaine Generall, that he wold set fire to their townes & houses, or otherwise destroie them. And for that cause, they determined to leaue the king of Calicut, & wold make no more wars against our men, moze the that which was past alreadie.

And

And vpon this condition, they returned to the king of Cochinchina, with whom they reconcyled themselues, and thos that did thus were, one called Marugata, Muta Caymal, and his brother, and Cousins, who immediatly after the battaile, did so secretly depart from the king of Calicuts Campe, from whence they went to the Iland of Vaypin, to stay there, till they might see their time, as I haue layd. But when the king of Calicut had knowledge that they were gone, and also understoode where they were become, he was very sorie therefore, which also was the occasion that he renewed all his griefe, that hee had conceyued for his ouerthowne, which he had receyved at our mens hands, that were so few. Wherupon he tooke occasion to rebuke his captaines, saying, that they were good for nothing, and that through their defaulte our men continued and kept these passages. And if so be, that they had had any shame, they would o^r this time haue dynuen them from thence, in especially hauing geuen so often the enterpise to passe the same. Then those two Italiens that were presente, did replie vnto the king, that although our men had done most valiantly, yet that which they did was like vnto the dedes of desperate men. Notwithstanding, that they were not able to defende themselues long, from such a power as his was, in especially, not hoping to haue any succour. And therefore they willed him to set vpon them often times, for by that meanes it was possible to take them. Some also of those kinges and noble men that came to succoure the king, and that were desirous of warres, did confirme that which the Italiens had saide before, addinge mozeuer, that God doth permitte his enemies sometime to haue the victorie, for a more greater losse vnto them, and therefor it were good saide they, that he followed his friends counsell, and prooued their fedfastnesse. And although it were so, that he had not the victorie immediatly, yet hee should not therefore dispaire. The king finding himselfe somewhat vexed in minde with those wordes, answered them saying, Although that eche of you is so valiant, that

The king
of Calicut
much bla
meth his
captaines
for being
ouer-
thowyne
by so few

the kings
answering
vnto this
aduice.

it appeareth vnto you, a small matter to overcome thole
Christians, yet I am not so obstatine to thinke the same.

Howbeit I suppose yet, that you doe see in me no such a
feare, that thereby you might iudge it needfull, to streng-
then me with thole words. For what can you tell me in
this case, that you may satisfie me withall? For if so bee,
that you will consider as much as I doe, you would sone
know, how great an acte this is, that you doe make so lit-
tle accompt off. I doe not take it in vs for so great a victo-
rie in ouercomming these Christians, but rather in them,
in defending themselves from vs, as they haue done. Wher-
in it hath well appeared, that their God did fight for them.

No doubt
but God
doeth
fight for
his ser-
vants

And will you see how it is so? You maye well
consider, that our men are many, and that they haue bens
valyant in the warres past, it hath well appeared in many
and great battailes, wherein I haue overcome mine en-
emies, as you do all well know. But since they haue fought

with these Christians, they seeme to be (not as they were)
nor durst give the onset vpon them, for the feare they haue
conceiued. And certaintly, as farre as I can learne, and al-
so all those that are of a good iudgement, we ought to be-
lieue, that thole workes are rather of God, then of man.
For who is he that would not be afraide of them, wel per-
ceiuing that all others are? I meane not onely the King
of Cochings subiects which came to succour vs, who haue
repented themselves thereof, but also manye other of our
friends, which in the beginning of these wars did also aide
vs.

And farther, I am enformed by some, that they haue
now offered their friendship vnto the King of Coching,
Which thing, if it be true, it is for that they haue lost the
hope they had of any victory on our part, as well for that
which is past, as also reputing how lyttle time there is
now lefft of the Hammer, and also for that in the Win-
ter they cannot remayne anye time to continue in the
fielde, because of the great stroumes and raine, which
would then be.

And

And in the ende of the winter, then will there come the
fleete from Portingale, which will doe vs as much harme,
as the fleete did the last yere, and so I shall never bee out of
unfortunate mischieses, but thus in the end I shall be ver-
sely destroyed.

All this shall be that I shall gette, with the
losse of the friendship of the Christians. And it is possible,
that for theyz causes the Pagodes will not aide nor helpe
me as they haue done before time. For although you tell
me, that they doe permit sometime their friendes to suffer
persecution for their profit, do you not think the same also
doth for mine. What then shall neede any further exhorta-
tions, to cause me to doe as you would haue me, and to suf-
fer persecution for my wealth, since I doe understand what
the same meaneth; and for the preseruing of mine estate, it
is requisite and needfull to haue friendshipe with the
Christians, if so be that you be also of the same minde,
for that we are all equall in the losse, and also in the
gaines.

For this talke of the kings, they were all sorrie that had
gauen him counsell to go for ward in these wars, since that
they perceived that his intent was to leaue the same, and
haue friendship with the Captaine Generall. These there-
fore would forthwith haue aunswereed, but the Prince Na-
beadarin didde preuent them, who was sorrie for these
warres commensed, and spake thus looking vpon them
all.

Since the king doth aske vs counsell what is best to be
done in this matter, which standeth him so much vp-
pon, I as one that most of all am grieved with this losse,
and most desirous of his profit, will therefore bee the
first that shall shewe herein my minde, and what I doe
thinke thereof. In that which you saye, that oftentimes the
Pagodes in the time of the persecutions that we do receive,
will

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„ will commaund vs to doe that which they will haue vs,
„ so we ought to understande them, although therefore in
„ these warres it appeareth that it goeth very euill with vs,
„ and in this they doe shew how much they are our frends,
„ truly I doe beleue the same, the rather for that we ought
„ not to beleue them that would hate a matter done with
„ out reason, as it were to gaine vs the victorie against those
„ Christians, and power to destroy the king of Coching, on
„ to whom we haue done very much hurt, killynge the latte
„ yeare his Princes and almost all his men, setting of Co-
„ ching a fire, and destroying his countrey, from whence
„ we hunted him alway, with his great discredite, dispossed
„ him of his kingdome & subiects, so that al they for the feare
„ they had of vs did leaue him, yea his own frends forsoke
„ him, & went against him, & all for our sake. And aboue all
„ these euils the which he did not deserve, for y he was not in
„ any fault, we would yet procede further, vtterly to destroy
„ him. What hath he done? Did hee procure to take any
„ mans countrey from him? No. In friendship did hee vse
„ himselfe traiterously? Neither. Did hee commaunde the
„ Marchantes that they should not come to Calicut? Neither.
„ Did hee the some worse thing since he did nothing of these?
„ Nothing at all. What then forsooth for y he did receive into
„ his countrey the Christians which being driven out of Ca-
„ licut, went to seeke him out, as he was desirous to encrease
„ and enpeople his Citie, and to augment hys estate and ri-
„ ches: Shall we therefore destroy him being our friend, as
„ an enemie? With this right doe the Pagodes helpe vs to
„ take the hono: riches and credite from the right owner? It
„ cannot be so, for that they be righteous and iust, and ther-
„ fore they will not help vs agaynst those Christians which
„ were slayne, robbed, and thrust out of Calicut, and were
„ there received vnder safeconduct from the king, comminge
„ to his porce before any others, and not geyng cause wher-
„ fore they should receive so many iniurys. If wee doe it
„ for that they laide hande vpon a Shippe of the Moores,
„ there is no reason why, for that the Kinge commaunded
them

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them to stay the same: And if he had ben aduised by al men „
as he was by me, the Moores should haue paid soz that they „
had done & that very well, for & if they had ben punished, it „
wold wel haue appered, y the king had ben in no fault of y „
which they had done. And this had bene sufficient to haue „
confirmed the friendship of the Christians with him, & this „
also would haue bene a cause sufficient, to haue kept them „
in Calicut from going to coching, to haue there settelde a „
trade, whom the King through euill councell hath trauay- „
led so much to take them, as though they were theues that „
had robbed him of his owne, they being so god, so gentle, „
so valyant as we see, and besides so gratesfull of the benc-
fitte they doe receive. For the receiving of them as y King
of Mylinde did, they gaue euer two shys laden with gold,
the which they had taken from a Cousin of his. If these
men were Thaues, as the Moores doe say they are, those „
were prises not to be left. You know how rich a Present „
they brought to the King, and what ritch merchandise they „
brought, and how much golde and siluer. Those fishernien „
which they did carrie away naked, did retorne againe all „
apparailed. If then we were friends, how surely shold we „
live; & what profit shold the King haue, if we had amitié „
with them. I do not speak of y ship y carried y Elephants „
which was given him: when all y prises did passe by these „
theues hands, the which they left. Whese were seruices to „
be thankfully reciuied, giuing occasion to vs to gratifie the „
in like sort, and to be glad to haue them for our frends, & „
since we did put them away when they had nede of vs „
now that we haue neede of them, let it not be thought euil „
to conclude a peace with them, for that the wars we make „
against them, we make the same against our selues. They „
are vpon the See of moxe power then we are, as you may „
well see the same by the long tyme they haue defended this „
passage, and with what power of men, and also what de- „
strukcion they haue brought vpon vs, and are like to doe, „
since that our Countrey lyeth nere to the water side, and „
that with our owne losse, we haue well seene the truth.

Do.

There.

Amongst
other ver-
tues grate-
fulnes co-
mended.

" Therefore let it go no further, but let vs seeke some remedie
" to haue a peace concluded amongst vs: for if we haue not, y
" port or harbour of Calicut wil be utterly vndone, & the king
" wil be like to loose all his rents. This doth concerne him
" more then al y frindship of y Mores, which haue no other
" respect but only to their owne profit, & not to the kings, &
" these be they that do gue councell to make these warres.

Now the councell of the prince Nabeadarin was gainsaid, & hovv
a certain Moore of Calicut did inuent the making of certein castles
of timber, with the which they might lay the caruels abord ca.⁶⁹

The Lord of Repelins aunc severie to the prince in the cou
elaine.

He king of Calicut all this while gane great eare to
y which y prince his brother had laid, & immediatly
answred y he was in y fault, as touching y which
was past, & had repented himselfe to haue taken y
enterprise in hand. And therfore he desired them al, to enter
into councel with his brother, & to take some god order for
y concluding of peace w/ vs: which was not wel thought of by
y Lord of Repelins, for y he was cōfederate with y Mores
to hinder y same, & after y the king had ended his talkie, he
spake in this manner following According as y Malabars
are colstant, so I do well beleue, y frō hence forth they wil
not haue the in any reputation, if thou shuldest do as thou
list, for y they would impute y same rather to cowardnes,
then to any reuolatiō or forewarning of y Pagodes. This is
a matter not wel to be thouḡt of, much leſſe the to be spoke

of amongst persons of honoz as here are, & with so great a
power with hope of many more if there were need: for al y
noble men of y Malabars are redy for y same, hauing great
cōfidence in thy valiantnesse, & therfore did choose the to be
head of this war. And now, wilt thou leau y same without
receiving any hurt in thy person, with y which thou migh̄
est excuse the same, not to die in thy demaund. But return-
ing whole, & with many of thine whole, what wil they say
but y for y feare of so few strangers thou gwest ouer y thou-
ght begin w/ so great a heat, & that thou rannest away not
being ouercome? With this thou shalt loose thy credit y thou-
haddest with all men, which since it is so, were thou not bet-
ter die, then to liue dishonored? I maruel much y the prince
did

did not consider this, which is y principal matter y he shuld
make reckoning of, as one y doth extreme thine honoz, I y do
also extreme y same, do not councel y king to gue ouer the
wars, although I shoulde see y Pagodes command the, for ra-
ther death is to be wished, then such obediece Go forwārd
therfore in these wars, for so y Pagodes wold haue the do,
& do not contrary vnto this advise. The Mores y wer pre-
sent hearing al this talk, which was to their contēt, did ter-
ther y same as much as in thē lay, setting forwārd y king,
praising him to be invincible, laiceng before him y infamy he
shuld incur, if he did leau y wars: they offred him moreo-
uer their persons & gods towards y same, alledging y in-
creasing of his rents with their trade, plenty of victuals in
his city with their being there, declaring also y old friend-
ship they haue had with him, & how they were become na-
turall inhabitants of his country, with many other thīngs,
vnto y which y king wold not answere, neither yet his bro-
ther, for y al those kings & Lords did help y Mores advise,
& so it was concluded y the wars shuld go forward. And for
y it had gone with y king so euill in y fōrd, they found a
new iumention to lay the caruels a bord, which a certeins
Moore of Repelins made caſled Cogal, who had ben a tra-
uailer, & ſcene ſundry iumentions denide. And for y caſle ha-
ving a pregnant wit, he inuēted a caſtle to be made of tim-
ber, built vpon two boats or lighters, placing two beames
crosſewiſe ouer y forepart of the ſaid boats, & the ſterne or
pope of y boats to be as broad as y caſtle long, y which caſ-
tle was made ſquare, & vpon thole beames were other pla-
ced, ſo high as a chāber from a hall, & in cuery ſquare were
quarters of timber thick ſet together, of y height of a lance,
or little leſſe, mortaled in y ſaid beames, & nailede with greaſ
yron naile, & in y bodies of y quarters of timber were holes
made, through y which went bars of yron, ſo y to ſight the
caſtle ſeemed a ſtrong thing. In this caſtle might 40. men
be wel placed, besides certein pieces of ordinaunce, ſo that in
this wiſe this caſtle might paſſe y riuers, & w/ y graupis ioyn
w/ y caruels, which being dōe y king desired y ſight therof, &
whē he had ſeen y ſame, did not only praife his wiſ, but also
Do it.

The diſ-
muling
wrotes of
y Moores
to y king,

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rewarded him very largely, and by the same paterne com-
maunded other scacer to be made, that vpon them the Car-
uellis might diuise their times, & occupie themselues, thin-
king that euer so it would be.

Of the great alteration there was in Coching, about
the Castle, and what policie the Captaine
found to defend the Caruell from them.

Chap. 70.

Consequently after, was the Captaine gene-
ral aduertised by espies that he had sent of
these castles, and that his enimies were also
making in readinesse certaine fireworks, &
therwith they might burne the caruellis, & if
they could not burne the same, & then with
these castles, they might lay the said Caruell abord: As soone
as the dwellers & inhabitants of Cochung heard of these ca-
stles, they were therwith grealy afraid, least the enimies
would take Cochung, & with that did make themselves in a
readinesse to flee from thence, for the which the king of Co-
chung was very sad, supposing y indeed with these Castles,
his enimies wold take his country from him. After this, cer-
taine of the inhabitants of Cochung went to the Captaine ge-
nerall to alke him whether he was able with his caruellis
to defend himselfe from these castles. Wherepon the Cap-
taine aduerced & alke of them, wherefore they deuined y
question, saing y they did well to do, that from a greater
power then this, he had made them die with broken heads,
& so he doubted not, but he would doe againe. With this
answere, y inhabitants of Cochung were fully satisfied, & so
minded not to remoue themselves from thence, vntill such
time the battell were fought. The Captaine general for to
encourage them the moore, commaunded before them all to
pitch a long lasse in the ground, the which was made sharp
at y one end. The same amongst the Malabars is called Cal-
lute, vpon y which they do execute iustice of death: vnto the
worst

A Cal-
lute, and
vntill the
morrowing
thereof is.

of the East India.

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poore or biles people of the country: insomuch y if they say
to a Calle, Nare Caluce, they take the same for a greater
reppoch then any other. This Caluce being pitched on this
sort, the Captaine generall did then sweare, to spit vpon the
same the king of Calicut, if so be that he did fight with
him, & so soorthwith he commaunded in dispaire of the king
of Calicut, y all his men should say with a lound voice, Sa-
marin Caluce. At this sight the inhabitants mervaled to
see y stoutnesse of y Captaine, & so minded to remaine & keep
the towne. But for all this, the Captaine Generall was in-
wardly moued in spirit, for feare y indeed they wold lay his
caruellis a bord, & that for lacke of men. Howbeit y better to
defend them from y same, he comandred to be made a cer-
taine Camlo, y which was made w certeine masts of shippes,
joyned the one to the other, & bound with great bolts and
hoops of yron. These masts wer of eight fathom o' length,
& as many of breadth, & were placed from y Caruell a god
stones throw. And so y the eb nor ri. If eould shoulde car-
ry y same away, ther wer laid out sixe great ankers, three
of them vpon the shord, & the other vpon the eb, y made the
same the surer. And for that the Caruellis shoulde remaine so
high as y castles, one Peter Ratal considering these deuiles,
deuised also to encounter with the height of thos castles, to
make certeine turrets of halse masts, which were set vpe
right, and made fast a bord the caruell, in the which turrets
seven. or eight men might fight at plesure in each of them.
This being done, one morning before day ther came to visit
the Captaine general the king of Cochung, of whose coming
the Captaine was very glad, for y he had heard how fear-
full he was, & therfore he gaue him a god countenance, yet
for all this, the king could dissemble no lenger, but presently
his eyes did run downe with wafer, & with y he embraced
the Captaine general, & comandred those noble men y came
with him to do y like, which was done with so sorrowfull
a countenance, as though it were y last time y they shoulde
meet. Afterward y king did apart himself with y captaine &
some of our men, & as a man out of his wits, said vnto him.

So. iii.

The

The king of Galicut hath a great power, and we are but
of. Co-
chings
wordsto
the Cap-
taine ge-
nerall.
The King of Galicut hath a great power, and we are but
few, and that without any hope that I have to defend Co-
ching, or any of my people, who besides are ready to run
away if thou be overcome. And since that I am undone,
I request thee, that thou doe prouide for thine owne safe-
tie, whilst thou hast time, for that afterwards, I doubt thou
shalt not haue the same: and therewith, as though he were
stopped in the throte, he spake no more.

The an-
sver that
the cap-
taine gene-
rall made
to the
King of
Coching. he
ut, and also doubted not but to gine him the overthrow,
with this speach, auns wered him somewhat with cholar,
as king him what weaknesse or cowardnesse he had seene in
him, that he shoud will him to prouide for his safetie: And
further laid, that there or in what place socuer he was, he
was most assured to defend himselfe from the King of Ca-
Coching. heut, and also doubted not but to gine him the overthrow,

notwithstanding the great power he brought. Ans diddest
not thou tell me (quod he) all these times past, that God did
fight for the Portugales, but now how doſt thou doubt of
the same? I haue a hope in God, that to morow thou shalt
see the King of Galicut put in that Caluete, and of this I
doe not doubt, if he doe tarry me, neither yet thou oughtest
to haue any doubt, if thou wouldest thinke vpon the victo-
ries that God hath givern me so oftentimes, the King of Ca-
lycut having the same aduantage that now he hath. This
thou oughtest to beleue, and not that whiche the Mores of
Coching do tell the, for y they all doe not loue vs, neither
yet the alteration of the Mores should make the apalde,
which are afraide of every paffe of winde. Repent thy ſelue
therefore of that thou haſt told me, and diſpaire not, but re-
turne with god courage to Cochincing, and there also to com-
fort and harten thy people, ſhew thy ſelue Strengthened, &
ſtay thy ſubiects from going away, and let me alone with
this Paſſage, for I will give the a god attempt thereof.

The King minding not to encrease his cholar, did ſhew
himſelfe recomforted with his wordes and comfortable an-
ſwere, truſting that we would defend the Paſſage, acor-
ding to the valyaunt mindes he had founde in vs, and in
our

our Captaigne generall: which he did affirme without any
doubt of the deceiſe thereſe. The Mores, and all the peo-
ple of Cochincing, vpon their alterauen and ſetting out,
they made for their departing, belauing yet that our men
hould be ouerthowen, did therewpon prouoke the Mores
to runne awaie, but yet neuertheleſſe they would not,

¶ How the King of Galicut did give the Battale
unto the Captaigne generall with his caſtells, &
how they were all ouerthowen. cap.71.



The King of Cochincing being departed, the
Captaigne generall went to his Carnell, ſhewing himſelfe grieved greatly, to ſee the
King ſo ſaint hearted, the which might haue
the occation that Cochincing might be diſin-
habited, which he feared very much: and
being deſirous to ſuppy with his men, the other tame Lo-
renſo Moreno, with thole of the Factorie, with whom he was
accuſtomed to come, for (as I haue ſaid) there was neuer
any found in the battel of our men, that the enimies could
overcome: The Supper being done, they went to reſt
themſelues till midnight, and being confeſſed and abſolved
by the Vicar, the Captaigne generall ſaid unto them,

Myſters and my friends, I am very merie & glad that The Cap-
you doe remember the principall thing, which is your tain gene-
ſoules, for that I doe well knowe, that with this remem- ral Œati
brance God will haue vs in his high & glorious memorie, on to his
to give vs the victory againſt our enimies, not onely for company
the ſatisfaction of our troubles, but also for the increasing
of his holy and Catholike faith and that the King of co-
ching and his people might understand, that our God is a
true God, and mightie aboue all mighties, and that he
doeth not ſayle thole which doe put theye conſideraſce and
truit in his name. As for the King of Cochincing,
you did well ſee him yesterdaie howe ſadde and heauie
and

„ and without hope he went alway distrusting in the victory, which God I doubt not hath promised vs, making sure account, that we were all lost, and utterly cast away, per swading me withall, that I shuld in time provide for mine owne safetie. Surely I did never finde in him so much feare, nor yet so great cowardnesse, the occasion therof was, that they heard that the power of the king of Calicut was much greater then it was before. And although it were so great as they doe thinke, yet farre greater without al com parison is our God, and that haue you well seene in the helps past that he hath sent vs, and even so now do I hope that he will likewise helpe vs and send vs the victory.

„ And with this hope let vs assuredly trust to ouercome the enimy, for he will maintaine the honour that wee haue gotten, and from hence forth will so encrease the same, that we should remaine in this worlde for lightes of valiaunt men, and for the same be so feared in the Indias, that neither the king of Calicut nor any else will dare set vpon vs: and the honour being gotten, we shall be assured of rest for the troubles we haue had.

As he had ended, they sayd all, that without the victory they would not liue. And at this time which was two houres after midnight, some of the Ordinaunce of the Fleete to live in of the king of Calicut beganne to discharge, making they way towards the Captaine Generall: and the king himselfe went by land, being accompanied with moze then thirtie thousand men, with his field peeces, as his vse was, and with great hope y he shoulde gue vs the ouerthow, & with this double pride, much moze then he euer had, he came forward. The Lord of Repelyn marched before with certeine men that shoulde make rampyres of earth in the point of Arraul, for a defence for our enimy in the battell.

He brought with him great noyses & cries, with great pleasure and daunting, the whiche the Captaine generall didde heare, and went verie secretly a lande, and placed himselfe in the very point where the enimies shuld come, the whiche

h2

he did defend that the enimies shoulde not make there any rampyres, about the whiche our men killed some of them. This being knowne to the king of Calicut, that the Captaine Generall came thereto to mette with him, he com manded his souldiers with a stout stomacke to set vpon him and take him aline, the better to reuenge himselfe on him at his pleasure. About this there was a great skirmish and many of the enimies were slaine without taking of the Captaine Generall, neither yet could they make they rampyres. As the morning came on which was the Ascension day, the other Fleete did appeare, y which was not far off, and by this, the Captaine generall was retired vnto his boates, but it was with great trouble, because of the great multitude of the enimies which came vpon him: howbeit he imbarkeid both himselfe and his men without lacking any of them, but there were of the enimies many slaine and hurt. The point beeing now cleare & unfurnished, the enimies came and placed themselves there, and then they began to shote off their Ordinaunce at vs, to the whiche we did aunswere with ours, doing them great hurt therewith, for that all our shot went amongst the enimies, where they lay open, and our men were well fensed, therfore their ordinaunce could doe vs no hurt. The king of Calicut seeing this, sent word to his Fleete that they shoulde rowe a pace, and come to helpe and deliver him from the daunger and feare that our men did put him in. The Fleete being come, it was a fearefull sight to beholde them, for that there was driven before them certeine raffes, the whiche went alwaies burning, with intent to set the Caruellis on fire, and after them an hundred and ten Paraos full of men & ordinance, & many of them cheined together, and after them a hundred Catures in the same manner, and four score Tonis de coxi a ancha, and in each of them thirtie men, besides they ordinaunce, and the eight castles in keeping of these, the whiche stode hard by the point, for that the ebbe was not as yet altogether entered. The enimies came with great clamors, making great laromes and cries, and plaieng vpon instruments,

ments accounting vs as overcome already, and with this, they shot off so many pieces of Ordinance as it was wonderfull to see, and with their sagots which they brought before them burning, they drew very neare to the Canizo, which was placed before the Carnells, and therfore they could not come to set the Carnells a fire, neither any other of all the Fleet. Therfore, all those that went before, did toyne with the Canizo, and therewith did give vs battaile, & without all doubt they had closed with vs at this time, if this defence had not bene. In this sodaine fight which was very great, the battel indured a god while, vntill such time the ebbe came on, and at this time the enemies receiued great hurt, not onely in their Fregates that were borne in peeces and sunke, but also many of their men that were slaine and hurt. The Ebbe being come, the Paraois with their Castles did put off from the poynct, and to the ende they shold goe the swifter, they were rowed with boats. These came right towards the Carnells, and in the greatest of them all went fortie fighting men, and in the other of the middle sort in each of them ffeue and thirtie, and in the lesser sort thirtie men. All these were bowmen & shot, and on sides that they did carrie Ordinance, and stode all abroad, whiche did shew a terrible and monstrous a front, as was fearful to be seene, the rather being so great a fleet, in comparison of our small power to defend them, we having but two Carnells & two boats. But this was y day wherein God did well shew, the great regard he had to preserue vs, for that neither the sight of so many men, and so many sorts of wayes whereby they had compassed and beset vs, neither yet such a flate, that was so great and mighty, with the fearefull cryes that the Enemies did make, nor the terrible thundering of the Ordinance, could any wayes discourage or make vs afraide. The greater of the Castles bring come hard to this defence, did then shote off all his ordinance at the Carnells, & the Captaine generall commannded to shote at the same with a Baker, the which caused the said Castle to stand wavering, but yet did them

them little harme, neither yet with another piece that they shott off soorthwith, with the which Captaine generall was so sad, that he listed vp his eyes vnto heauen, saying: Lord, doe not retourne my sinnes to my face at this time, and this he said with such a loude voyce, that some there were that heard the same. In the meane while came the other Paraois, which did set themselves right equal with the first, & with the comming of these, the battell did increase more and more very stonkly on ayl parts. Their arrowes came so thicke, which made so great a shadow, that sometimes ther appeared neither heauen nor earth, with y great smoke of their Ordinance. The Captaine generall did tourne, and commannd to shote at the great Castle the Baker againe, & as with y other shot past, they had inwhat shaken their yron workes which were not very streng, so with the same shot they presently brake, & after y the yron workes were thus broken, some of their beams being likewise caried away, with certeine of their men slaine, with y same our men gaue a great cry, & the Captaine general falling down on his knees, gaue God great thankes, & returning to shote the Baker againe, did carrie away another row of beams, with many more slaine and hurt, and the Ordinance being shette off againe, it was all borne in peeces in a small space, and so the enemies went with their Castle further of, but the others remayned there fighting very stonkly. And after this, both parts endured more trouble all the day following, then in all the battells that were past: but in the ende, we did so much hurt vnto their Castles, and sunke and rent so many of their Paraois in peeces, y the enemies could not abide the same, & therfore they shrank thence. The fight did endure till euensong time, & began in y morning of the enemies wer many slain, as afterward was seene in y water, & of vs none, nor any hurt, but only bruised with a shot which went through y Admirall, y bullet went among many that were there, but they received no harme.

The Captaine generall seeing the enemies went their waye, followed them in their Boates, and such paraois

as he had, shooting alwayes at those that were vpon the point Attal, with the king, and with the force of their Ordinaunce made them runne away, leauing behinde them slaine thre hundred and thirtie men. This being done, he then returned to his Caruells, where that euening came to visit him the Prince of Coching in the behalfe of the king, who sent to excuse himselfe that he could not come to visit him in his owne person. But he sent him againe word, that he wold receiue no discharge, vntill such time he knew his heuines was past, but praid him syb hence forth to beleue better in God, for that the daungerous daye of the Castles was past, and he remained in the passage as he did before, all safe, and in readinesse to serue him. The selfe same daye came to visit him certeine noble men, of those that were of the king of Cochings side, with whome there was made great triumph for this victorie: and likewise there went to see him many Moores Merchants which brought him great presents, supposing to get of him thereby great friendshipe. He received them very gently, praieng them to be true subiects to the king of Coching, for thereby they shold finde him assured at any time whensoever he might stand them in any stede, wherevpon they faithfully promised so to do, & to binde them the moare, he made them very great cheere. Also the next day in the morning the king of Coching came to visit him, who imbraced him with as great gladnesse as could be devised, saieng that he did wel performe y which he had promised, in giuing the king of Calycut the ouer-throwe. But vnto this he answered, that he had not performed all his promise, since that he did not put him on the Caluete, but he was not in fault thereof, for that the king kept himselfe alwayes farre from him. He declared also to the king diuerse other matters of pleasure, which the king answered in like manner, praiing very much his valiantnes, & that he had wel seene y God did fight for vs, asking of him forgiuenesse for y distrust he had in him, & how greatly he was bound to succour him, declaring also that the afaires of Portingale were very great, and confessing lyke-
wise

wise that he through his worshynesse had made him king. After this victorie the inhabitants of Coching did cast off the feare they had of the king of Calycut, in such sort, that never from thence forth they stode in anye dread of him, neither yet made account of his habilitie.

Of the counsell which the king of Calycut tooke of his brother, and how hee was gaine-saide: and also by what pollicie & meanes the king of Calycut sought to kill the Captaine generall. Chap. 72.



HE king remained greatly ashamed and very sad, for that at the same time he could not ouerthowe the Captaine Generall, the rather because he never accounted any thing more certeine, then to ouer come him in that conflict, because of the Castles which he had prepared for his confusson. And now leauing a side all hope euer to haue the victorie, he desired to haue with vs no more warres, and therefore he called before him into his tents, all those kings and noble men that came to helpe him, and sayd thus vnto them.

Y^OU doe well see how little our power profiteth vs a-
gainst these men, and how little our policies preuaileth
since they doe not regard vs, and would never give ouer the
passage, notwithstanding the greate power we had against
them. The like account also they make of vs in their feasts,
and pastimes when we goe against them, as though we
were the felter, and they the moare, and as though the land
which they are in were theirs, & we were the Christians,
whereby it appeareth, they alwayes make account of the
victorie for certeine, which either they obteine by witch-
crafts, or else their God doth fight for them, which cannot
be otherwise, considering the great victorizies they haue had
against

„ against vs, and the greate hurt that we haue received of them. Wherfore I suppose that God wold it shold be so, for the little justice y is obserued in these wars, as hath wel appered in the beginning of the same. And if I had ben wel aduised, it shuld not haue gone so farre forward, but in the end I am in the fault, and not they, and since it is so, wee haue therin no right cause, neither canne gette any thing by our strength. Let vs therfore giue it ouer, & desire no more to haue Cochung, for that God doth fauour these men, since wel you see, there is no power in the Indias that can offend vs so long, we being so strong, but these dogs, of whom I am afraid, y they will subdue the Indias, according to the acts that they haue done, and the credit that they haue gotten, especially in Malabar. And that this mishap may go no further, I thinke it shoulde be conuenient to procure theyz friendship, & also it is time to get vs away, for y the winter commeth on, & the riuers doe increase, & these men do ouer-run all: and this is certeine, y if the wars indure, they will come hether & inforce vs to depart with our losse & dishonour. Now y first that he asked councell of what was necessary to be done, was his brother Nabeadarin, who being angry with the king that he wold never follow his councell, & leue the warres, saide: that now he knewe to his cost what he had told him of vs: & since in time he woulde not know it, he al ked him what it shuld now profit him for his honour and credit, since y then when opportunity serued he refused his councell, but now he willed him to do what he shuld thinke good, for he could not do amisse. The king being somewhat broken of his pride, (calling him brother) said that now there was no time to amisse him after such sort, but to tell him his opinion what he thought best. The prince answered y we were venterous, & alwaies remained so assured of the victory, vpon our experienced strength and god fortune, albeit our power were much lesse, so y he greatly doubted we wold none of hys friendship. And for thys to offer y same, said he to y king, & they to refuse it, wold be no him touch lesse dishonour vnto thys, then the often ouerthowls y thou hast

The counsell that the king of Calicut his brother gave

hast received. And since by thy profered friendship, we can not get so much as we shold loose if they refuse y same, it were best therefore not to procure it, but to defer it, & make peace with the Captaine general that commeth y next yere from Portingale, who considering heine little the wars generall, will profit him, & not being assured of god successe therein, will be the gladder to make peace with thys: & therfore that it may not be thought that we run awaye for feare, let vs stay & not depart, vntill such time it shuld be thought, that y necessarie of the winter did inforce vs hence, & then may we wel talke of peace, when possible the Captaine general wil willingly accept the same, doubting that his god fortune may chaunge. And to prouoke & giue occasion the rather to haue his friendship, let vs giue him no more battels in the meane time, since it serueth to no purpose, but to the great losse and confusion of our men.

This councell of Nabeadarin was reproved by the kings and noble men whitch were there then assembled, & especially of the Lord of Repelyn, whitch said that the king ought not to goe awaye, neither for the greatnessse of the winter that shoulde come, nor yet for the losse of his men, but rather to continue, giuing vs manye battailes, vntill such time he did take vs, and not onely procured the destruction of vs in Cochung, but also of those that were in Cananor and Coulan. And that immediatly it were expedient they sent men of credit with letters to affirme, that they had borded our Caruellis with thair Castles, and had also slaine vs all, and taken our sayd Caruellis, and therfore that they shoulde kill all those that were there, as they had promised. To the same effect therfore the king did write immediatly and the Mores also, but there was no credite giuen to the same, for that there was other newes sent before, and therfore the last was taken for false. Neuerthelesse for all that, by the industry of the Mores the whitch did dwel in those two towns, our men were in great danger, and durst not come out of theyz Factoyres, and in Coulan there was one slaine, but in the other places none, for

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our men to
destruction
but it toke
no effect
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The Conquest

For afterward messengers were sent from Calicut to the Gentiles, that our men were aliuie, and what we had done. For which cause the king of Calicut was auersed that they would not kill our men, vntill such time the Captaine Generall was taken, and that he had first giuen him the ouerthowre, which beeing done, they would conclude with him. This being come to the knowledge of the Lord of Repelyn, both he and the Paires did perswade the king to fight another battell with the Captaine Generall, the which he would willingly not haue done, for that he was wearyed in his spirit, but he could not withstand them, and therefore commaunded the same to bee giuen both by sea and lande. But in it he had lyke successe as before, so that more through the importunate desire of the Paires then of his owne will, he gaue in his owne person another battell with his Castles, with many moze men and vessells then in the other before. This battell endured longer then the other, in which also the enimyes were overcome, and received farre greater losse then euer they did before. With this victorye that we had gotten, the inhabitautes of Cochinch remained sure from all their enimies, and so likewise did the king, whom afterward came to visit the Captaine generall, being brought in a chaire, with farre greater estate then euer he came before, since the first beginning of all the warres. This being knowne in the campe of the enimies, the kings and noble men that were with the king of Calicut, tooke occasion to say vnto him that he shoulde not consent, in especially haing such a greate powre as he hadde there present, that the king of Cochinch shoulde haue him in so small reputation, as thereby to iudge himselfe free from him, & out of his danger. To the which the king of Calicut made answere, y the king of Cochinch had great reson to say that which he had done, in especially knowing his greate powre and camp, and yet perceiving that he could not give him the ouerthowre. And since that his euill fortune was such, he desired them not to wish him to go forward in these wars, for that he knewe well and was fully perswaded,

An aun-
svere
vvhich
the king of
Calicut
made vnto
certaine
noble me-

of the East India.

ded, that continuing the same, he shoulde alwayes receive the losse, and run daily into greater danger, as by the feare therof it was apparaunt. And therfore he requested them all to let him alone by himselfe, who so being, did imagine againe what course he might best take to reuenge himselfe.

And after that he came abord, he called for certeine of his Payres, in whom he had reposed all his trust, commanding them to go to Cochinch with some dissimulation, and there to trauaile all that they could to kill the Captaine general, and all such of our men as they could mette withall. And as the Paires are men inconstant, and cannot keepe counseil longer then they are bethinking themselves therof, therfore immediatly their intent was knowne to the Captaine general, who from thence forward had a better regard to himselfe, and vnto the rest of his compayne then he had before. And the better to take those Paires which came as Spyres therfore, he appointed thervnto two companies of y Paires of Cochinch, commaunding the one to keepe diligently a long the syde, and the other a long the river, who watched by quarters both by day and night. Whiles this diligence was vsed, the Captaine Generall had knowledge that this spy was a Paire of Cochinch, and of the house or stocke of the Leeros, who had attendant vpon him certeine Payres that were straungers, which appeared to bee lyke those of Calicut.

Nowe hauing certeine knowlege hereof, he so hande the matter, and in such order, that forthwith he tooke them all prisoners, and beeing brought before him, he commaunded them to bee cruellye whipped in the presence of those Paires of Cochinch, and afterward to bee hanged. The inhabitautes of Cochinch seeing this, requested the Captaine Generall to give them some other punishment since that they were Payres, and not to shewe them so great extremite, but notwithstanding he wold not graunt vnto anye other punishment, for that they had deserued the same.

The Orati
on of cer-
teine cap-
tains vnto
their gene-
rall for his
better ad-
uise in ad-
ministrati-
on of iusti-
ce. Then all his Captaines sayde vnto him, that first and before all he shoulde call to remembraunce, the greate trou-
bles that the King of Coching hadde susteined for the one-
lye maunting of them, and also howe much it woulde
grieue him to heare saye, that such were hanged in his
Countrie without his consent.

Also it woulde giue an occasion for such noble men as were with him, to saye that he is a king but for a while, since that his iuris diction is nowe taken from him.

And sozasmuch as hetherto he had vsed him alwayes with reverence, they wished that nowe at the ende he woulde haue him in a greater estimation then ever he hadde be-
fore.

The Captaine Generall haing considered theyr rea-
sons, did alloue of theyr god councell heirein, and cau-
sed those Paires to be sent for, that were gone to execu-
tion, of the which there were two halle dead, but those
that were living he sent to the king of Coching, aduerti-
sing him how that they hadde deserued death, and also the
cause why hee hadde not commaunded them to bee han-
ged.

The King hearing this, tooke the same in greate ho-
nour and estimation, that they were sent him, and espe-
ciall for that there were present sundrye of the noble men
of his Countrie, and of other places, yea, and Mores al-
so, of the chiefeſt that dwelt in Coching, which did not
lette to saye vnto the king to aſtrunt him withall, that
our men were they that commaunded and did not obeye.

But from hence forthe the Captaine Generall

hadde ſuſh intelligence, that the ſubtile
dealinges of the king of Cali-
cut, tooke very ſmall
effect againſt
him.

How

How the king of Calicut of pure heauiness for the ill
ſuccesse he had in the warres, did put him-
ſelue into a Torcull, and within a ſmall time
after came foorth therof. chap.73.



The beeing now ended, and the winter be-
ginning to increase, the Captaine generall
thought that it woulde be ſome caufe that
the king of Calicut woulde not tarrie there
long. And therfore he was fully minded to
ſet vpon him at the remouing of his camp,
for that by expeſience he knew the ſmall valour of his en-
emis, by ſuch victories as he had gotten in times paſt, which
did therfore animate him the more therewnto, thinking
that at ſuch a time he might doe him much harme. And be-
ing in a readinesſe to vnbcheine his Maces, he was preſent-
ly informed that the king of Calicut was reforming a new
his Caſtles, and preparing in a readinesſe a greater Fleete
then euer he had before, that hee might giue him there-
with once more the battaile. This was but a flax-
newes that was commaunded to be giuen out by the
king of Calicut, who did ſurniſh that at the raiſing of
his Campe, which hee was minded to doe, and to goe
his waye, the Captaine Generall woulde ſette vppon
him.

And therfore hee determined, that his departure ſhould
be ſo ſecretlye done, that no man ſhoulde knowe there-
of but onelye Nabeadarin. For this caufe therfore
he gaue out, that hee woulde giue the battaile in the paſ-
ſage of Palurte, and also in the Forde both together, to
the ende the Captaine Generall might occupie himſelfe
in defending them both, and hee himſelfe the better
ſteale away, as hee diſde: but hee gotte nothing there-
by, moze then hee hadde gotten beſtre.

The Conquest

After all this, on Saterday in the Evening, which was Saint Iohns euen, on which day they gaue out, that they wold giue the battaile, there appeared the whole army of the enimyes as they were accustomed to shew themselves. The Captaine Generall hoping of theyz comming, did tarye there all that night, but in the morning he saw no like-lyhood thereof, and mervailing what that shoulde meane, was informed by two Bramenes that the king of Calycut was gone with his whole power unto Repelyn, and that at that present he was there.

For this newes he was very sorrie, but yet for all that he entered that present daye into Repelyn, where he fought with many of his enimyes, slew and hurt a greate number, and so returned to the passage, where he remained yet cerkeine dayes to ensure Coching the better, which was yet afraide of the King of Calycuts returning, fearing that he would not leaue this passage. Howbeit the Captaine Generall was well assured that he would not come there, by reason he was fallen into such reproch and shame, in the sight of all men, because of his great losses. So that immediatly after that he had past the riuers of Repelyn, he apperted himselfe with his noble men which had accompanied him in these warres, and said vnto them with weeping eyes in this manner following.

the kings
Oration,
made to
such prin-
ces & no-
ble me as
came to
aide him
in these
vwarres.
FOR a man that is without shame, as I am, it is not much to shedde these feares as I doe, the heauinelle of my losse being such, as fetcheth the same from my hearte, with the which I am so troubled, that since it is so, that I cannot doe it in publike sorte, I will goe into some place where I may do the same without any body that may see mee. I haue also another griefe which troubleth mee ver-ry soze, ouer and besides my dishonour, which is, for that I am not able to rewarde you for all the greate good will and seruice you haue done mee in these warres, the which I take for so greate a dueyng, that if so be that I might see my selfe discharged of the same, I shoulde bee bet-

of the East India.

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better contented, then with the getting of Coching. But, since it is not Gods pleasure that I shoulde get the vicerie ouer it, which hath procured my dishonour, so is it not, his pleasure and will that I posesse the state of a king a ny longer, but rather for the amending of my sinnes will, ende my lyfe in this Torcull, where I meane to continue vntill such time that God hath taken awaye this hatred, which he hath conceiued against mee. And from this time forward you may dispose of your selues, and do what you shall thinke best with my countrie and subiectes. I doe not offer you my person, forasmuch as being a man so unfortunate as I am, it shall not stand with your credite to require his companye, and with this speach he ended his talke.

But the Princes and Noble men woulde somewhat haue comforsted him, and withdrawne him from this his determination, but it could not preuaile, for that he had fuli bent himselfe to the contrary, and so with cerkeine of his Chaplaines he entered into this Torcull.

Now his mother hauing knowledge that he was there, shew sent him word, that for this his soleine determinati-
on he remained as heauie and with as sorrowfull a heart
as might bee. Informing him moreover, that through this
soleine chaunce, there hath risen in Calycut a great altera-
tion, for that from thence are gone and now are ready to go
many & sundrie merchants, and also that the citie is become
wonderfully vnprovided of victuals, with the greate feare
the inhabitants are in of the Christians: which is the occa-
sion ther are no victuals brought thither. But no perswa-
sion she sayd, could withdrawe him from these wars with
the Christians, which from the beginning of the same was
a great griefe unto her: willing him also that in no case he
shoulde returne unto Calycut, vntill he might doe the same
with his credit, which was cleane lost alreadie. And there-
fore shew counsailed him a while to forbeare, vntill such
time he did recover it againe, and that with victorie, yea, &
rather to lose all then to returne without it.

A Torcull
is as much
as with vs
an hermitage,
such lyke
pore kind
of solitary
religious
place

Wher cre-
dit is im-
paired, it
is better
to lurke
then to
runne a-
broad
vwith dis-
honour.

With this message the Kings hauidesse increased great-
lye, and he sent immediatlye for his Brother, to whome
being come, he gaue him charge of the government of his
kingdome. But after that he came out of the solesaid To-
cul, it was restozed vnto him againe.

¶ How there came sundry Kings & Princes of the
Country to demaund peace of the Captaine
generall: & also how there came vnto Coching
many Moores of Calycut, to inhabite there.
Chap.74.



the good
nes of the
King
of Co-
chings na-
ture no-
ted in be-
ing a
meane to
procure

¶ All these Kings and Noble men,
which came to serue y king of Ca-
licut (after that he had placed him-
selfe in the Toxcul) remained a few
dayes in Repelyn; tarieng to see
whether he did repent himselfe of
that which he had done, or not: and
perceiuing y contrary, each of them
repaired toward their Countreyes, whereof the most part
of them laye there along the water side. And so somuch as
the winter began to increase, and they fearing least the
Captaine generall wold ouercome them all, having now
lost the hope they had to defend themselves now as before
time. Therefore they minded to procure as much as they
could, to be friends and in peace with the Captaine gene-
rall. For the which intent as Mediatour for the same pur-
pose, they sent to the King of Coching, whom for that his
condition and nature was very god, & without calling to
remembraunce the iurries that were past, which they had
done vnto him, did undertake to do the sanie. Sending them
immediately a safeconduct for their safe comming vnto Co-
ching, from whence he went in their company to visit the
Captaine generall, whom at their meeting, he earnestly re-
quested

of the East India.

quested to receive them as his friendes, who auns wered, peace for
that for his sake he wold so doe. Divers other Princes
also there were, that coulde not come, but yet notwithstanding
they sent vnto him their Embassadours to conclude
this peace likewise. Also sundre Moores of Calycut that
were great Merchants, to the ende they might quietlye vse
their trade, forsoke Calycut, & came to dwell at Coching,
with the consent of the Captaine generall. Others there
were that went to Cananor and Coulan, so that the great
Trade that was before in Calycut began sodainly to fall.
And soz that the Moores of Calycut began in this sorte to
inhabite in Coching, therfore the Captaine generall wold
not leaue this passage, as also soz that there came manye &
sundre times Paraos from Calycut into the riuers to kepp
the same, by Nabeadarins commandement. Howbeit the
Captaine generall met with them and fought with them,
and hurt many of his enimies. Moreouer, he oftentimes en-
tered into the Lord of Repelyns Countrey to take Cattell
for his prouision, & fought with many of his enimies, vpon
whom he made great slaughter. One daye by chaunce our
men met with certaine Tones of the enimies, the which
were in a certaine standing water, and carried them away
into the riuers, and made with the enimies a valyant and
sout skirmish, in the which was slaine the greatest parte
of them, and not one of our men hurt.

After all this, the Lorde of Repelyn became the Captaine generalls friende, and came to visite him, and
brought him for a present a great quantitie of Pepper, of Repelin, is also
reconciled xnto
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¶ How Lope Suares de Menesis departed for the
Indias for captaine general of the Fleete that
went in the yere of our Lorde, a 1504, and
what more past or euer he came to Anfadina,
cap.75.

1504.

The fiste
voiage to
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In the yere of our Lorde 1504. the king of Portingale hauing certeine knowledge, that the king of Calicut continued as yet in the warres, did therfore send to succour our men with a flēete of twelve great shippes, and appointed for Generall of the same, a Gentleman called Lope Suares de Mencis, who in the time of king Den John the second, had bene Captaine in the Mina. The Captaines of the flēete were these following.

Pedro de Mendoza, Lionel Cotinuo, Tristim de la Silu, Lope Mendus, de Vascon Cele, Lope de Abreo, Philippe de Castro, Alonso Lopes de Castro, Alonso Lopes de la Costa, Pero Alonso, de Aguylar, Vasco de la Siluero, Vasco Carualllo, Pedro Dynes de Sutunell. All these were Gentlemen borne, and some were made Gentlemen by seruice. These also carried with them many valiant souldiers, who being unbarked, and the Captaine Generall dispatched, did depart from Lishborne the xxii of Aprill in the selfe same yere, and continuing theye voiage on the seconde day of May, they found themselves right in their course to Cape Verde. Then y Captaine generall hauing here all y flēete together, caused his Captaines, Maisters, and Pilots, to assemble themselves, vnto whome he spake in sence following.

Telling them to call to remembraunce howe lately they had departed from Portingale, for which cause it was requisite that they were circumspect and diligent, and not to fall into such disorders and extremities as hetherto they haue done, for not looking every man vnto his charge, and not to suffer one shipe leye the other a boorde, as they haue done alreade; whereby they ranne all into greate daunger. Also there were others he said, that had no regard to keepe theye right course, but vnadvisedly there were some that would go before, and others come after, and others by the winde, by meanes of which disorder they might haue cast

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cast away themselves. And the better to auid these daun-
gers, and to keepe the flēete in god order, he did set down
certaine rules in writing by his Scriuenor, and sworne
therevnto his name, with the names of the other Cap-
taines, which they should obserue and keepe.

In primis, That all the flēete, as soone as it is night, shall follow his course, remaining alwayes a sterne the Ces that were
generall: and that no shipe shall carry other light, then onely
that which is in the Wyfode, and within the Captaines cabin. Also, that the Maisters and Pilots keepe their watch, ster and
and that they haue a god regard, that one shipe doe not lay
the other a boord, and that they do all auns were, when the
Admirall doth make any signe.

Item, That as soone as it is day, they doe come and salute their Generall, and that in the night they doe not go before him. He that doeth not obserue these commaundements, shall paye ten Crownes, and be kept in prison, vntill they arraine there, and that without wages. And soz that there was some Maisters and Pilots very negligyent, by whose default one shipe did lay the other a boord, he commaunded to remoue them from one shipe to another: and by this diligence that was thus vsed, every man had a regard thervnto, and the flēete went in god order, & never after ranne in any daunger. Thus going on their course in the month of June, and iudging themselves ouer against the Cape Buena Spuransa, there fell vpon them a mermaylous great storme of winde, with the which all the flēete ranne two dayes and two nights without sayles, so y they were in great daunger to haue bene all cast away, the weather being so darke and close, that it seemed rather night, then day.

These two dayes beeing past, they saw certaine signes of lande, the which as it did appeare, could not bee farre off, and for that cause was the weather so close. After that they had discryed y same, & were come nere thervnto, then these signes appeared the greater. And therfore the Captaine generall commaunded, that out of his shippes there

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should be shot two pieces of Ordinaunce, that the others might after the same maner awaie were with the like, and the better keepe compaines the one with the other. This storne being past, they founde missing the ship of Lope Mendez. And the Captaine generall seeing that he hadde lost the sight thereof did not let to goe forwarde on his course.

And so, within certayne dayes through the negligence of the Officers, one shippe layde the other a boord, and gaue therewith so great a blow vpon the bow of y other, that with the same there was opened so great a hole, that they might thredyng the shippe verye well, by the which vnto one of y ships through negligēce of the sai lets

A great leake giue they might therethrough the shippe verye well, by the which hole therz entered such abundance of water vpon a so dayne, that she was almost sunke. The Captaine generall bare with the same shippe immedately, and came so neare them that they might well heare him, and the great conforte he gaue them, assyning them not to haue a fearde, but to goe forwarde in stopyng the leake, without feare to be lost, for that he was there to succour them with his men, which he did sende in his Boats not fearing the Seas, that went so high, nor the daunger that they were in.

And for all that the Mariners of the ship did so work, that oþer it was night the leake was halfe stopped: yet that they might end y rest that remayned to doe, the Captaine generall commaunded to be made a sign by the same shippe, that the other Captaynes might come and succour him, if there were any such neede. The wether being y next daye somewhat calme, the leake was wholly ended, the which was stopped with certayne hides nayled thereto, and pitched vpon.

This daunger being past, without anye other mischaunce, worth the writing, they arrived at Monsambique on Saynt Iames daye, where the Gouvernour received him verye well, and sent him great refreshing of fresh victualls, and the Letter that Pedro de Tayde had lefte

The leak stopped, and the daunger thereof past, they sayle forwarde.

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leste there for him before he dyed, as I haue sayd beforē.

Who understanding by the same, of the warres that the King of Calicut had beginne agaynst our men, didde as soone as the shippe was tigged, and made in a readinesse, which they had brought a grounde for the same purpose, he departed towarde Mylynde, beeing the first of August. And immedately after his arrivall there, the King sent to visite him by one of his principall Mores, Certaine by whome he sent for a Present sixtene of our men, the Portin-which did escape out of the ship that Pedro de Tayde was gales sent vnto the Cap-

Within two dayes after this, he departed toward the Indias, and so came to Ansadina, where he founde two tall for a Gentlemen, the one called Antonyo de Saldanua, and present the other Ruy Lorenso, which were Captaines of two shippes, and were in great feare, supposing that our Fleet had bene of the Rumes. Then Antonyo de Saldanua, informed largly the Captaine generall how he departed the last yere from Portingale for Vice admirall, with Ruy Lorenso, being given him in commission to go & discouer the red Sea with the Countreyes adiacent. And how that in doublyng the Cape, they were verye sorelye troubled with a storne, which was the onelye cause of the separating the one of them from the companye of the other. But Ruy Lorenso as he kept his course after their seperation, met by chaunce in the waye to Sofala, with a certayne ship of the Mores being laden with much golde, the which he tooke: & afterward that he had taken the spoyle of the same, he leste the Hull in keeping at Mylynde. Antonyo de Saldanua went to Quardafum, where he tooke many great and exceeding rich prises, without entering at all into the Straights: and from thence he went into the Indias.

And for that he came not to Ansadina before it was the winter, he was therfore driven to tarry there with Ruy Lorenso, who having passed many dangers, came afterward therer

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ther, where he past great troubles, for lacke of victualls.

¶ How the Captaine generall came to Cananor, and spake with the King: and how the Gouvernour of Calycut, woulde haue made peace with him, howbeit he woulde not consent therewnto. Chap. 76.



¶ He Captaine generall bæing heré, came thereto him Lope Mendez de Vascon celis, who had lost the companye of his Generall, with the soule wether past. And immediately after that he was come, the Captaine generall made him prest, for his departure towarde Cananor, where he arriued the first daye of September. There the Factor enformed him of the warres of Calycut, and how that he with his other fellowes that remained in Cananor, had lene themselves oftentimes in daunger of death.

The Captaine generall goeth a land to visite the king of Cananor. The next daye after his comming thereto, he woulde needs goe a lande to visite the King of Cananor. All the Captaines of the Fléete he carried in his company to atende vpon him with theyz Boates, the which were set forth with theyz Flagges and Ordinaunce to the bitemost, and the men apparayled in the best apparayle that they had. And as for the Boate in the which the Captayne generall went, it was couered ouer and beset with Carpettes in the best manner, vpon the which stode his Chayre, the which was made of vnschorne Crimson Velvet, and at his fete there were set two very faire Cushions of the same. His Dublet was also made of Satten, beeing of sundrye coulours, the which was wrought Diamond wize.

The state which the Captaine generall kept at his going to visite the king of Cananor, And moxoner, his hose were made after the same sorte, and his Shooes were lykewise made of blacke Velvet,

Veluet, which were all beset with Aglets of golde, and his Cap couered ouer with Buttons suitable to the same: his night gowne was made of blacke Velvet, after the French use laced about, with lace of golde, his Dagger and Rappier which his page held, were hafted with pure golde, and his cheine came thre times about his necke, the links wherof were all enameled, and at the same he hadde hanging his Thistle of golde of the lyke worke. There went before him his two Lackyes, appareled as himself, and sre trumpeters with their Flagges of silke. He had also with him certeine wind instruments, vpon the which they went plaieng, which were carried in a little Boate hard by him, and in the same was carried also a present for the king of Cananor, which the king of Portingale sent vnto him.

This present was sre beds of fine holand, with two great pillowes and pillowbæres to the same, all wrought with gold. Two Couertors or Carpets of Crimolin Velvet vnschorne, which on the bitemost side were all quilted ouer, and had vpon the same thre gards of cloth of golde, which in the middes was a spanne in breadth, and in the other places of thre fingers. The bedsteede was all quilted ouer, the which had Curteines of Crimolin Satten, with Fringe made of golde thred. As soone as the Captaine Generall did put of from his shippes, all the Fléete began to shote off. Afterwards the Trumpettes did sound, and the Drums play. After this was ended, then the Organs went, and never ceased, till they came to the water side, where ther were great multitudes of Menes and Gentiles, which came thereto only to see the Captaine Generall. Who as soone as he had disembarked himselfe, entered into a certeine house, the which the king had caused to be made for the same purpose hard by the water side, in the which the bedstead with the whole furniture apperteining was set vp, and hard by the same there was a place appointed for the captain generall to sit down on. When the king of Cananor came, he brought before him thre Elephants armed, as though they shoulde fight, and after them there came a squadzon of thre thousand Paires,

The present which the king of Portingale sent to the king of Cananor,

The king of Cananor is bravery and state at his meeting with the captain generall

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Naieres, with their weapons, which was swordes, targets, and speares. Also there came another squadron of two thousand bowe men. Last of all came the king himselfe sitting in a chaire, the which was verie rich. When he was come to this Sarame, the ordinance of all the Fleet was shot off. The Captaine Generall thereby perceiving the king to bee at hande, went forth as farre as the doore to receive him. And after that they had imbraced each other, he presented him with the bed, vnto the which the king did go immediatly, and lay downe vpon the same. The Captaine Generall seeing that, late downe in his place appointed, and there they conferred together for the space of two houres. In the meane while a graye hounde of the Captaine Generalls would have set vpon one of the Elephants, and because hee was holden, he therefore barked and plunged in such sort, that there was none that could heare, by reason of the noise they made, neither yet there was anye able to holde him, which was the occasion the king and the Captaine generall were so little time together. After this meeting, there came vnto the Captaine Generall a Mōre from Calycut, with whom there was also in compaines a Portingale boy, which brought a letter from such of our men as remained then captives, from the time of Pedro Aluares Cabrals being there, who told him by word of mouth, that the king of Calycut was so broken in minde with the warres that hee had with Edwarte Pacheco, that with pure heauinesse hee put himselfe into a Loxull, sequestring himselfe from all the world.

And that there were many Mores Merchauantes so earnestly bent to followe theyr trade, that they haue left Calicut, and are gone to dwell in other places, by reason wherof, there is in Calycut greate necessitie of vnduals.

And therfore that the King of Calycut, the Prince, the Aldermen, and all the dwellers of Calicut are desirous to make peace, and are determined to send vnto him about the same. And gaue our men lycense to write thereof to the Captaine Generall, the which they so did, not onely about

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about their request, but also to desire him to release them out of captiuitie.

The Captaine Generall seeing and perusing this Letter, woulde haue aunswere the same, but the Boy would not consent thereto, saing that of force he must nedes returne with the Mōre, for that they gaue him no further lycense, but to bring this Letter, vpon condition that if hee did not retourne, they woulde cutte off the heade of all those his fellowes that remayned for Captiues in Calycut. Wherefore the Captaine Generall sent them answere by word of mouth, that as touching his going to Cochinch, it would be shorlye, where hee woulde come to an Ankor as nere as hee coulde to calycut, passing by the same; and then they might take an occasion to come theyr waye towarde the Fleete, either swimming or in Boates.

This theyr going without yrons about the Citie, was the occasion that the Captaine Generall gaue them this councell, although hee knewe that they were kepte with a gard of Naieres, and also that they slept in the kings house. After all this, he departed towarde Calycut, whether hee came on Saterdaye, the seuenth of September, and as soone as hee came to an Ankor, there repayred vnto him the Boye, which brought him y letter to Cananor, and with him came a Mōre seruant to Cosebyquin, who brought the Captaine Generall a present from y Gouernours of the citie of Calicut, on whose behalfe they sayd, that if so bee hee woulde sende vnto Cosebyquin a safe conducte, that then hee woulde come and speake with him, and trade for a peace.

Wherento he aunswere, that he woulde not accepte theyr present, nor anye other thing, vntill such time the peace was concluded vpon: and as for Cosebyquin, he might come vnto him without anye feare, as a seruant of the king of Portingales. Also priuelye hee sent our men word that they shoulde indeuour as much as they could to runne away.

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This aunswe being knowne to the gouernours, shoy sent immediatly Cosebyquin with two capture Portingales to the Captaine Generall, believeng most certainlye, that by this meanes they shuld prouoke vs to make the peace, which they sent to demaunde by the foresaide Cosebyquin.

The tvo Italian runagates justly required by the Cap taine ge neral to be deliue red, Praieng him also to tarry thre or four dayes, which they supposed woulde be the longest time that the king woulde tarry, for that they had sent to call him, and knowing verie well, that he would doe all that they would require him. But he gaue them for ful answere, that vntill such time they deliuered vnto him the two Italian runagates that wer in Calicut, he would not agree to any thing, which beeing deliuered, he would then doe what he thought god, but he sent them word nothing of y captiues, for that he thought that at anie time they might runne their waye. But as sone as the Italians had knowledge, that the Captaine generall did demaund them, they then surmised that if so be, the captiues went not with yrons, they would runne awaye, and so gaue notice therof vnto the gouernours of the Cittie, how that the Captaine Generall, if y he might haue them wold make peace, yea, and with such conditions as the king himselfe would require, for that they were men of a god estima-
tion, so that the Captaine Generall wold not forgo them for any price.

The Aldermen giuing credite vnto this, wared somewhat colde in speaking any further of peace, but kept the Captiues from thence forth, in such sozt that they coulde not runne awaye. And so they remained vntill the comming of the Viceroye Don Francisco de Almeda, & in the meane time some there were that did run awaye, and others that died of great infirmities.

Of the great destruction which the captaine generall made in Calicut, and how he came vnto Coching. chap.77.

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HE Captaine Generall perceiving that the gouernours did conclude nothing, and themselves were without hope to haue the captiues, he bent himselfe determinatly to reuenge himselfe with shooting off his ordinaunce both night and day at the Cittie, during the which time, he spoiled the same wonderfully, and ouerthrew the kings house and part of their Pagodes, with many other of their houses. He slew also sundry men that came to the water side, wherewinto he laye somewhat neers with seuen of his small ships. Mozeouer he had lieing a long the shore, all their boats, in the which were both men and ordinance. This being done, he departed toward Coching, wher he arived on Saterday being the xiii. day of September. All this day he kept himselfe a boord, and therfore came our men to visit him. On the next day, he disimbarked himselfe hard by the castle in like order as he did at Cananor, where the king of Coching was tarring for him, and therfore received him with great pleasure. And after that he had imbraced him, they went hand in hand to the hall, in the which there was a seate of estate, wherupon was set a chaire. And for that the king did sit lowe according to his order, y Captaine generall commmanded to place the chaire sone wher further off from the kings seate, in the which he sat downe also. But all those that were present were greatly offendid with him, for that he did not sit vpon his chaire of estate by the king, to whome he deliuered a Letter from the king of Portingale, in the which were rendered vnto him greate thankes, for the fauour he had shewed vnto his subiectes, with many other gratulations. Unto the which the king aunswere, that for all such matters he was fully satisfied with the god seruice that Edward Pacheco had done vnto him.

The next daye after, the Captaine Generall sent him a great sum of money, the which the king of Portingale did bestowe vpon him, for that he knew he was but poore.

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After all this, he commaunded Pedro de Mendoza, and Vasco Caruallo to goe with theyz shippes to kepe the coast of Calycut, that they might take all such shippes of spozes as were laden with Spices: and also he sent Alonso Lopes de la Cocta, and Peralonso de Aguylar, and Lyonel Cotinuo, and Ruy de Abren, to goe and receive in theyz lading at Coulan, for that he knew ther was spice in abundance.

Moreouer he commaunded Tristim de la Silua, to goe to Grangalor, betwene the rivers, with soure boates armed, of purpose to fight there with certeine Paraoes of Calycut, the which were there armed. So Tristim de la Silua shot at some of them, and also at certeine Payzes, the which issued out from certeine pointes of the lande, and so without comming to Grangalor, he tooke a ship laden with Pepper, with the which he returned to Coching, where he did lade with the other Captaines, which was done very quietly: and there was such great stoeze of spizes, that ther was none then needed.

How Edwarte Pacheco departed from Coulan unto Coching: and how the Captaine Generall did set vpon Grangalor, and what he did there. Chap. 78.



Dwarte Pacheco beeing come from the coast of Coulan, as soone as he had sight of the Captaines, the which the Captaine generall had sent, and for that he shuld haue no moze to doe after his arriuall at Coching, since there was come another Captaine Generall, did depart toward Coching the xxi. of October, and keeping his course, had sight of a ship a farre off in the Sea, toward the which he made all that day, & part of the night, and this ship was driven into Coulan, where hauing

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hauing talke with the same, he did understand that he was one of the confederates the which came from Coromandil. And immediatly after were sene other thre shippes of Calycut, towarde the which he made his course, and kepte a long the coast with the winde of the shoare. In the morning he went into the Sea, and there he sawe a Saile, the which fled away from him in such sort, y til it was toward the euening he could not ouertake the same, but hard to the lande, with the which he fought a god while, so that it had many men that did defend themselues, but at the ende he made them amaine. The shippē bēing yelded, our men did enter the same by Edwarte Pachecos commaundement, and there were brought a lande certeine of theyz men, the rest he commaunded to be kept prisoners and in yrons, a bord his ship.

And hauing knolowedge that this was one of the thre of Calicut, the which he went to seeke out, he put in the same two of our men to kepe and carrie it with him. When he was come right ouer against Comorin, there fell vpon him on a sodeine such a hurling tempeste, that thereby he was brought in great hazard to be cast away.

This bēing past, he came to an Arikor within a leagus of the shoare, and there remained all that night, in the which there ranne away well neere thirtie shippes, of the which twelue taken againe with his boate. After this, he went vp and downe, wauering in the winde, tarryeng for the rest of the shippes, and seeing that they came not, nor yet heard no more newes of them, he carryed the foresayde shippē with him to Coulan. After that he had deliuered the shippē to the Factor, with all such merchandise as he had, the which wer many and rich, he departed towarde Coching, where after his comming the shippes of the flēete went to lading. And likewise the others bēing come that were a lading in other places, then the Captaine generall did enter in councell, whether that they thought god that he should set vpon Grangalor or not, forasmuch as it held on the king of Calycuts side, and was enimie to the king of Coching.

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The king of Calicut is nowe come forth of the
Torecul to Calicut, and had in the riuers his Captaine
generall with foure score paraos, and fiftie shippes, and by
lante had appointed Nabeadarin with a greate number of
men.

And sozasmuch as it was spread abroade, that the Captainne Generall did depart towarde Portingale, the king of Calicut was minded to returne and renewe the warres. Now the Captainne generall beeing determined and advised by all the Captainnes to set vpon Grangalor, he departed one night with xv. boates, the which were armid with paueyles, and with fiftie and twentie Paraos from Coching, replenished with Ordinaunce. Also with these there went a Caruell, so that in the whole there were welnigh a thousande of our men, with whom there went also as manye Payres of Coching. In the morning before it was daye, hee came to Palypuerto, for hee durst venture no further, for that the Boates went verye heauie laden with theyr furniture, by reason wherof they could not passe the shoells that were there.

At this place there came against him the Prince with eight hundred Payres, and after this sort, some thare were of them that went by lande, and some by water. Thus they departed toward Grangalor, where the king of Calicuts Captainne generall was, in two new ships, the which were cheined together full of Ordinaunce and men, and the most of them bole men. And a stearne these shippes, and on both their sides were these paraos with many men also.

The Captainne Generall of the enimies had in his company two of his sonnes, which wer accounted for to be very valyaunt Gentlemen. Our Fleet being come, the Ordinaunce beganne to goe off on both partes. Tristin de la Silua, Alonso de la cocta, Vasco caruallo, Peralonso de Aguyilar, and Antonio de Saldania, which went in the Vangarde, didde close with the two ships, with the which they fought a while.

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These ships being borded, were immedately yelded, be-
ing first of all slaine, the Captainne generall and both his sonnes, the which fought very valyantly, and also manye others, for that in this place was all the force of the Bat-
taile. And as touching the Paraos that the other Captainnes did set vpon, there was but little to doe, sozasmuch that as soon as they saw their ships borded they fled their waye. Wherevpon commaundement was given by the Captainne generall, that all our men shold disimbarke themselues, of whom the first five Captainnes were they that gaue the first onset vpon Nambeadarin, who offered to resist, with cer-
taine Payres which he had in his retinue: with whome our men did fight with so valyant a minde, that they made theyr enimies to runne awaye. Then our men following the chase did set fire to certaine houses, beside all y Towne which was dispoiled both by the Mores and Gentiles, the which did well know, that our men would come vpon the, as also did Nambeadarin and his men, which fled awaye along the water side. Edwarte Pacheco, and the Sfactour Diego Hernando Correa, with the other Captainnes didde disimbarke themselues in another place, who immedately began to set a fire the Citie. The Captainne generall in the meane while remained along the water side to kepe his men from scattering. Then the Christians that dwelt in this Citie, and that were hidden amongst the houses, when they saw the Towne all in a fire, came out from where they were hidden, crieng with a loude voyce, and request-
ing them not to kill them for that they were Christians. And some of them ther wer, y went presently to the Captainne generall, to pray him that for Gods sake hee woulde commaund the fire to be quenched, for that they shoulde els burne certaine Churches of our Ladie and of the Apostles which were in the Citie, as also their poore houses, y which were mingled with the houses of the Gentiles and Mores. Then for their lakes, the Generall commaunded the fire immedately to be quenched, although that many of theyr houses were burnt, which for that they were made of timber.

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The Conquest

for þ pore christians fakes that dwelle there her, did burne quickly. The fire being quenched, our men fel to ransaking of the houses of the Mores, among whom there were many which before time had dwelt in Calicut. Moreover, the two shippes with their Paraoes that were in the water were likewise burnt, besides other þre þ were a land. This conflict yet continuing, there came thether the Prince of Cochinchina, who told the Captaine Generall, that Nambeadaryn was not far off with his power, who was determined to returne to the Citie, after that he was departed. Then the Captaines procured license of the Captaine Generall that he would suffer them to goe leke him out, & so they did. But as soone as the enemies had fight of them, they ran their way as fast as they could. The Captaine general seeing this, did returne, & wold haue set vpon another Towne the which was not farre off, but soz that the Prince of Cochinchina requested him to the contrary, soz that the one halfe of the same was his, and that it was impossible to destroy the one halfe without the other: and also soz that the King of Calicut's subiects were ready to submit themselves vnto him, praying him to defend them. After a valiant ex- ploit, the Captaine Generall maketh knights in recōpence of theyr vertue. Then the Captaine generall entered into the Citie, & did ther make certain Knights, and afterward returned to the Forte, to the which the King of Cochinchina came to visit him.

¶ How the King of Tanor sent for succour to the Captaine generall, which he sent him. Cap. 79.



After two or þre daies past that the Captaine generall was in the Castle, there came thether vnto him an Embassadour from þ King of Tanor, who is next neighbour to the King of Calicut, who spake vnto him in this order, on þ king his ma- gers behalfe, That whereas hereto he had bene a friend ador sent to the King of Calicut, and did alwaies aid him in all such wars as he had made against Edward Pacheco, now since

of the East India.

he is come out of the Tercull, presuming on his great power, and hauing encreased or rather doubled his pride, doth in recompence of his god service, make warres vpon him, And therfore hauing knowledge that the King of Calicut was minded to set forwarde and to succour the Citie of Grangalor, and that his Captaine generall was marching toward the same, he did assemble 4000. Payres, which he placed in certayne straights, by the which þ king of Calicut shuld passe, & at his comming did set vpon his whole camp & overthrew the same, with the death of 2000. of his men, which was the cause þ he came not to succour the citie of Grangalor, but with this losse returned to Calicut. Where- fore hauing done this exployst, he remaineth in feare, leake he wil come and set vpon him. And therfore his request is, that the Captaine generall will succour him, since most hū- bly he doth demand þ same: which if he will doe, he will promise him to be true subiect to þ king of Portingale. To this Embassalage þ General aunswere, þ he was wel content to accept him for þ kings subiect, & to send Pedro Raphael with his Carnell, in þ which were an 100. men, the most whereof were Croslebowmen, & shot. It was a great chance, þ the same daye our men cams to Tanor, thether came also þ king of Calicut by land with his whole camp, & gave to þ king of Tanor battell, in which through þ va- lor of our men he was overthrowen, & many of his slaine. And for this succor þ the Generall sent thether, the king of Tanor remained subiect to þ king of Portingale. With this overthrow þ king of Calicut continued in great feare, & in lese credit with þ Mores, then he had with þ victories that Edward Pacheco had gotte against him, because those wars were made with strangers, but this with þ king of Tanor, who is his neighbour. Which thing was þ cause, þ all such Mores, as dwelt in Calicut & Grangalor conceiued now so great a misliking to trade toward Meca, þ they determined to return to their cositries: & for this cause, they laded xvii. great shippes in Pandaranc, fortifieng them to defend theselues from our men þ better, & to offend þe, if they shuld come. Also

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Also there were many Paraos and Tones, lykewise alading as fast as they could pleye it.

¶ How the Captaine generall fought in Pandarane with seuentene great shippes of the Moores, and how he ouercame them and burned them.

Chap. 79.

the effect
of the
vvordes,
which the
King of
Coching
spake to
Edwarte
Pacheco
at his de-
parture.

The aunswere that Edwarte Pacheco, gave to the King of Coching pride,

He Captaine generall perceiving that of force he must needes returne, with all such shippes as were laden, by counsaile of the Captaines, and for securitie of the King of Coching and of the Fort there, did therefoore appoint and leauie in Coching a Captaine generall, with whom he left a ship and two Caruels, the one of Pedro Raphael, and the other of Diego Pieres. This Captaine was a Gentleman called Manuel telez de Vasconcelos, whom the Captaine generall did present to the King of Coching, who had a great deale more desire, that Edwarte Pacheco shoulde haue remained, for his good seruice, and affection he bare him, as I haue layd. Howbeit notwithstanding, he durst not demaund his tarrieng at the Captaine generalls hands, for somuch as he was of a very ill condition. Edwarte Pacheco hauing knowledge of his going for Portingale, purposed first ere that he departed, to speake with the King of Coching, the which he so did.

For whose departure the King remained very sorrowfull, requesting him to tarrie if so be it were possible in the Indias, and not to leauie him, for that as yet he did not think himselfe sure from the King of Calicut, and also he tolde him that he remembred that he had promised him sundry

times not to goe away, untill such time he had made him King of Calicut, and since as yet he had not the possession of the same, he desired him not to leauie him. Edwarte Pacheco aunswere him, that he left him now in a god time, hauing his Countrey verye quiet, for somuch as the King of Calicut hath bene and now is abated so greatly of his

of the East Indias.

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pride, that he needed not to stande in no feare of him anye more. For sufficient profe wherof was, if none other thing, that now he sawe the Mores of Meca to go theyr way from Calycut, as men desperate for the losse of their trade. Also that his going for Portingale was not but to returne, and then to serue him for a longer time, and more at his pleasure. With this aunswere the King was somewhat satisfied, and with the teares in his eyes desired him to pardon him, for that he did not give him all that was his desire, in recompence of the seruice he had done for him, in consideration that he was so poore, as he did well knowe. Howbeit he intreated him, that of his Pepper which he had, he would take what he woulde.

The good
will of a
thankful
minde is
much
more
worth the
many
gifts

But Edwarte Pacheco would haue nothing, saing, that he did trust in God, that when he retourned to Coching, he shoulde finde him very rich, & in his prosperitie, and then he would receiue reward of him. And with this he departed, the King with all his subiects remaining verye hearie for his departure. Moreover, the King wrote vnto the King of Portingale of all Edwarte Pacheco successes in the warres, and what he had done for him. After this the Captain generall departed toward Cananor, the xxvi. of September, carrieng in his compayne those Captaines which shoulde remaine in the Indias. His god wil & intent was, to come to an Ankor in the harbour of Panane, and there to visite the King of Tanor. But by reason of the ill weather they had, and their naughtie Pilots they could not reach y same, but were driven to Calycut and Pandarane. And from thence he commaunded Pedro Raphael and Diego Pieres to go before the Fleete, and to looke out, whether they could see any shippes of the Mores. Being arived at Pandarane, & bearing along the Coast with a small winde, there came vpon them x. Paraos of the xvii. shippes that wer ther a lading. Our men hauing sight of them, began soorthwith to shote at them with their ordinaunce. The other Captayns being a Sea bord, and hearing the sound of the ordinance, did returne, and bare as close by the winde as they could.

¶

And

The conquest

The great
provision
of the
Moors a-
gainst so
fewy small
boates.

And having sight of the shippes of the Moors to be a ground, came to Cananor by the Captaine generall's commaundement, who immediately entered into counsaile, in whiche it was determined by the whole consent of his Captains, that they shuld fight with those Moors, and that they shuld goe in their boates, for that their shippes could not come neare unto them, by reason they were within the Barre. And for that the enimies were many, that therefore they shuld do what they could to close with the shippes, the whiche as soone as they had done, they shuld set the same a fire. This being appointed, the Captaine general with all the other Captains of the Fleete, did imbarke themselves in their boates, the whiche were in all xv. in the whiche all the souldiers of the Fleete did imbarke themselves, and that with a great courage for that they went to fight with their enimies. These Moors as I layd, had their shippes within the Barre, lyeng one close by another, with their stearnes toward the land, and in the most part of them wer many souldiers, whiche were men of colour white. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes, and also they had much ordinaunce. And on the land, at the entering of the barre were placed two pieces of ordinaunce upon a small bulwarkie whiche they had made. Our men bearing neare to this barre, had sight of the Captaine generall, and how the Caruellis were somewhat farre off the shore, and that they came not, for that the wind was but small, and therefore were perforce driven to returne backe for them, & to bring them by force of the oare within the Barre, for to succour their boates. The other Captaines (although they saw him returne) went forward by force of the oare, and at the entering of the Barre, the Pellets fell as though it had rayned amongst them. But for all this they entered, shooting of all their Ordinaunce. But as their enimies were farre more then they, so theyr arrowes were without number. And for that our men by reason they wer somewhat low under their shippes, wer open without any defence, therfore did they receive great hurt, not onely by their ordinaunce, but also by their arrowes.

Here

of the East Indiæ.

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Here as it appeared, was all the force of the battaile: and for all the stoutnesse that was shewed by the enimies, yet our men entred into the middes of all the multitude of the shot, by force of the oare, in such sort þ it appered as though the boats did flye, the men crying out S. Iames, S. Iames, It had ben better to have calld vppon God to have succoured them in that extre myte, & with þ they laid those shippes aboard; þ first þ laid any shipp aboard was Tristin de la Silua, as soone as he was within the bar. And as þ men of this shipp were many, so they did shoothe such abundance of arrowes & threw so many stones, þ they made our men put off, who beeing off did immediately close with another, in whiche for that there wer not so many, they boorded the same in despite of the Moors for all their stoutnes, in whiche wer some of them slaine, & these that remained aliuie leapt for feare into the water & swam away. About þ same time þ Tristin de la Silua had layde this shipp a boord, Alonso de la costa did the like unto ancher, which he tooke to be þ Admirall, of þ whiche a Turke was Captaine with all his company, whiche were manye. And at the boording of this shipp, were thowten such a mylitude of stones and darts, that it was a wonder to see. It chaunced that before our men came to this shipp, the enimies shooting at them with a pece, þ whiche was lieng upon the upper decke, with þ recouling it rent out a pece of the shipp side, so þ ther was made so great a hole, & the enimies not regarding it, thought it more needfull to succor þ forepart of their shipp. And when our boat camc hard a boord þ same side where this hole was, our men did enter by the same. The first that entered, was Alonso Lopes Master, & another Aluoro Lopes, who was þ kings servant, & is now sowne Clarke in Santaren, with diuers others. These altogether with those þ came afterward, so fought with their enimies, that in the same conflict there were many slaine, others hid themselues vnder the hatches, & also others leapt into þ water, at þ whiche time the most part of them were drowned, for that they wer laden with shirts of male. Immediately one Pero Alonso de Aguilar layde another shipp a boord, hauing in his company Lyonel Cotinuo, and

et ij.

also

The conquest

The
Mores for
scare
leap into
the sea, &
drowne
theselues.

also Edward Pacheco, Vasco Caruallo, António de Sal-
dano, and Ruy Lorenso, who all behaved themselves very
valiantly. And as soon as they had taken this ship, they
immediately set the same a fire, and it tooke the same very
furiously, so that therby their enemies were so exceedingly
afraid, that the most part of them leapt into the water and
drowned themselves. While this was a doing, ther
came the Captayne generall, with the Caruell, and beeing
entered within the Barre, he lefte them. Then one of the
pieces that were on the lande was shot off with a pellet,
which stike the Caruell of Pedro Raphael in such sort, &
in such a place, that with the same were thre of his men
slaine and ten soze hurt, and for lacke of winde, the floude
carried him vnder the forecastle of a ship, of those that wer
not as yet layd abord, the which had many men. And for
that the shipp was higher then the Caruell, who had the
same vnder his sprit saile, therfore the enimies did enter,
and handled our men very ill, for that they altogether did
set vpon them. Also there was another piece shot, with the
which the Master of the ship was slain, being at the helme
gouerning the Caruell, which being thus left at randon,
before that there came any other to the helme, the Caruell
fell vpon certayne Rockes, where she remained till the bat-
tale was ended. The Captaine generall viewing the dan-
ger that Pedro Raphael was in, commaunded him to bee
succoured, and so it was done. Then our men entering in-
to the Caruell, the which was full of Mores, they behaved
themselves so valiantly, that they made them flye away,
but notwithstanding all our men that were within y Car-
uell were soze hurt. In the meane space, all the shippes of the
enimies were burnt, and this also at the last, in the which
was burnt great store of Merchaundise, for that the same
was laden. Which was done the rather, for that vpon the
land there were many of the enimies which wer assembled
together. And for that of our men there were many hurt,
the Captain generall came his way with all his Captains
toward their shippes, where he found that there were slaine
of

of the East India.

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of our men xxv, and hurt an hundred and xvii. men. But
for all this the victorie was great. For ouer and besides
the burning of the shippes with all their riches, the which
was much, the Captaine generall was givien to vnderstand
by the Mores of Cananor, (to the which place from thence
he went) that ther were slaine in this battell two thousand
men. With this spoyle the king of Calicut remained so ill
contented, that fro that time for a god while after, he could
not restore himself, for that his losse was great, besides that
the Mores went from Calicut, by reason whereof there
was so great necessarie & lacke of victuals there, that the ci-
tie remained almost vnhabited.

Of the safe arriuall of the Captaine Generall at Lish-
borne, and of the great honour the king Don Ma-
nuel gaue to Edward Pacheco. chap. 80.

He next day after, the which was the first
day of Januarie, the Captaine Generall de-
parted toward Cananor, for that there he
went to take in the rest of his lading. And
being thereriuied, the Factor gaue him to
vnderstand of the great victorie that he had
gotten in Pandaranc, and how the Mores were very pen-
sive for the same, suspecting that from thence forth all our
men might remaine in the Indias, and that without feare.
For as their pride was before this victorie great, so they
pretence was alwayes thought to be, to kill both the Fac-
tor, and all those that remained with him. The like tale also
did the king of Cananor alwayes tell. The Captaine Ge-
nerall beeing readie to departe, before his going he
made an Oration vnto Manuel Telez, and those that re-
mained with him touching that which they shold doe, lat-
ing before them the great seruice that Edward Pacheco
had done, and therfore he woulde give him no greater a
Fleete then Francisco de Alburquerque left, and an hun-
dred fighting men in it. But after that he was departed

pt. iii.

The num-
ber of
ships and
men,
vvhich
were left
in the In-
dias vith
Manuel
Telez the
Captain
generall

The Conquest

there were in the Indias no more warres, soz that the king of Calycut remained as in case aforesaid. The Captaine generall being departed from Cananor toward Portingale, he arrived at Mylinde the first day of September, where without comming a land, he sent Antonio de Saldanua to y cōfie, for many rich prises which he had left there, & had taken before at the Cape Quardatum, where he went toward the Indias. And from thence he directed his course toward Quila, to recover ther y kings tribute which y king wold not pay. From thence he departed the tenth day of Februyare, without chauncing unto him any thing worth the writing, arrived at Lishborne the 22. day of June, 1525. with two ships more then he carried out with him, when he went toward the Indias. All these were laden with great stoe of riches, soz the which the king Don Manuel gaue him great honour, and the like he did to Edwarte Pacheco, after y he vnderstod what god seruice he had done him in the Indias, & how by his meanes the Factorie was there maintained, & also the credit of his power. And soz that all men shuld have knowledge of so notable seruices immediatly upon thorday next after the Captaine generals arriuall, was commanda-
1525.

Indede-
this Ed-
warte Pa-
checo vvel
descreued
great ho-
nor & co-
mendatio-
for his
seruice
In this
Churche
there was
a Sermon
made by the
Bishop of
Vizew called
Don Diego Ortez, who broughte in by
order, all that Edwarte Pacheco had done in the warres agaist the king of Calycut. This feast was not onely kept
in Lishborne, but also in Algaray, & in all the cities & no-
table towns of portingale, which was so done by the kings
commaundement. Moreover, he wrote of the same unto the
Pope, by Don Ioan Sutill, which was then Bishop of sa-
fin, who had the carriage of those letters. Besides y, he sent
the same to many chrisitian Princes, y they might know of
those notable acts & victories, being such a thing, as within
these our dayes no prince hath done y like for his subjects.



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